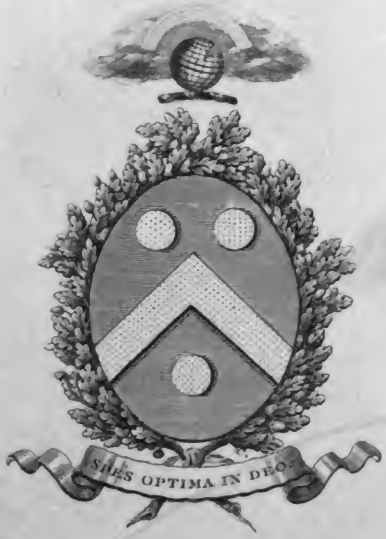
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Hope essays 767.



John Thomas Hope.



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THE

PEOPLE'S BOOK;

COMPRISING

THEIR CHARTERED RIGHTS

AND

PRACTICAL WRONGS.



"England never can be ruined but by a Parliament."

Lord Burleigh

LONDON:

W. STRANGE, 21, PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.XXXI.

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PREFACE.

The editor of the *People's Book* commits the result of his labours to the public, with some degree of confidence that it will be found to merit their approbation. Neither labour nor expense have been spared to render the Analysis of the late House of Commons accurate and complete, and it is apprehended that it comprises a mass of information relative to the members, and the places for which they sat, not to be met with in any other work. The "Peep at the Peers" is a reprint, with some few corrections and additions, of the original work bearing that title; and the editor does not take upon himself to vouch for its accuracy, in every instance. He believes it to be sufficiently accurate upon the whole, however, to furnish a fair specimen of the manner in which the national resources have been hitherto employed, for the purpose of creating and securing support for corrupt and profligate governments. The various other matters comprised in the work were deemed necessary to complete a full development of the representative system of England, both in theory and in practice.

It was originally intended to have given, in addition to the topics now embraced in the following pages, an

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account of sinecures, places, and pensions—the national income and expenditure—the direct and indirect taxes—and various other matters of a similar nature. But it has been thought better, upon consideration, to confine the work to one class of subjects, rather than to make it of a multifarious character; especially as another work has appeared, while this has been passing through the press, comprising every possible variety of information of the description above referred to—The work referred to is, The Black Book.

To the reformers and the anti-reformers, the editor commends the following pages; the former will find much in them to increase their zeal and activity in the glorious struggle in which they are now engaged; and the latter may find more than they could have anticipated, to convince them that the state of the representation is not the most pure and perfect that could be desired.

WILLIAM CARPENTER.

April 26th, 1831.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Page.

I. A Sketch of Parliamentary History, from the Saxon Times - - - - - - - - - - - i

II. Corruptions and Anomalies in the Representation xxxvii

III. Analysis of the Ministerial Reform Bill - - xlviii

IV. Changes in the Places represented - - - - - lii

V. Places formerly represented - - - - - - - lxii

CHAPTER I.

THE RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

I. Magna Charta - - - - - - - - - - - - 1

II. The Bill of Rights - - - - - - - - - - 4

III. The Habeas Corpus Act - - - - - - - - - 8

IV. The Act of Settlement - - - - - - - - - *ib.*

CHAPTER II.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

I. Earl Grey's celebrated Petition, in 1793 - - - 11

II. Table of Parliamentary Patronage - - - - - 28

CHAPTER III.

A PEEP AT THE PEERS.

Page 39.

CHAPTER IV.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Description of the Members and their Constituents 113

Anatomy of the Persons and Places - - - - 406

Votes of the Members on the Reform Question - 411

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INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

THAT the defective, or more properly speaking, the corrupt state of the representation of the United Kingdom in parliament, is the great source of the unparalleled evils under which the country now groans, and which threaten, if not promptly removed, a violent convulsion of the state, is universally admitted, if we except the few who have usurped the rights of the people, and those who divide with them the emoluments of borough patronage. THE DUKE of NEWCASTLE may whine and cant, when his boroughmongering practices are held up to the indignant execrations of the people of England; but the only effect his "speeches," as he is pleased to call them, produce out of doors, is to render the system in which he so largely participates, still more odious, by shewing the imbecility as well as the knavery of those who make it a source of emolument.

The design of the PEOPLE'S BOOK being to exhibit some of the consequences resulting to the country from the extinction of the people's voice, in the composition of the lower house of parliament, it will not be improper, but of some advantage, to introduce the details connected with this subject, by a sketch of the parliamentary history of England, for the purpose, not only of exhibiting the real nature of the British constitution, but of tracing, in consecutive order, those encroachments of the

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aristocracy on the rights and liberties of the people, which have at length paralysed all the energies of the country, and brought it to the verge of a civil war.

The government of England is what is properly called "a limited monarchy." It consists of a king, a hereditary house of lords, and a house of commons, or representatives of the people. The king chooses his own ministers, who, with himself, form the executive government; and he has also the appointment to all offices, civil and military. The ministers are responsible for the acts of the government—the person of the king is inviolable.

The peers are created by the crown, and, as we have already remarked, their titles are hereditary, or descend by inheritance. They constitute the highest court in the kingdom, as they determine appeals from the other courts. They consist at present of about 350, who sit, by right of birth, in the house of lords. This is not the case, however, with the Scotch and Irish peers. According to the acts of union—for those countries had formerly parliaments of their own—the Scotch and Irish peers are entitled to elect a certain number out of their own body, who sit with the English lords, as the representatives of the whole. The Scotch lords send sixteen, who are elected the same as the commons, every new parliament: the Irish elect twenty-four, who sit during their lives.

The house of commons, or representative assembly of the people, as it is called, consists of 658 members, 513 of whom are sent from different towns and counties in England and Wales, 100 from Ireland, and 45 from Scotland. The house is now elected for seven years; though the king, if he do not happen to like its members, can at any time dissolve it! This branch of the government has the voting of all public monies, in conformity with an ancient law, which declares that no Englishman can be taxed but by his own consent; that is, personally, or by his representative in parliament. The members of

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the house of commons must possess certain qualifications. To be eligible for a county, a candidate must have in it *landed* property to the amount of 600*l.* a year: to sit for a city or borough, he must possess an income of 300*l.* a year. Any branch of the family of a peer, not excepting his heir, may be elected a member of the commons!

The knights of the shires, or the county members, are elected by the freeholders, who possess to the value of forty shillings, except in Ireland, where nearly four hundred thousand of such electors were stripped of their right, as the price of the Catholic relief bill Copyholders, who are a very numerous class of persons, and many of whom are possessed of considerable property, are not entitled to vote. Nor is there any uniform system with regard to the qualifications of electors in cities or boroughs. In some places the right of voting is restricted to the corporation, and those whom they think proper to make free; in some, to every housekeeper; in others it is attached to a particular estate, whose owner is absolute lord of the borough. This diversity of right appears to have arisen principally from the perversion of the charters, by the richer part of the inhabitants, who, as they possessed power, have taken the opportunities it conferred, of excluding their less fortunate neighbours*.

All decisions relating to the validity of elections rest with the house of commons.

Such are the component parts of the British constitution; nor can any new law be made until it has been agreed to by a majority of the two houses of parliament, and has received the assent of the king. Hence it will be observed, that either branch of the legislature may refuse to pass any law that has received the sanction of the others! But upon this topic it is not our business

* See Merewether's Representative Constitution of England, in proof of the fact, that the royal charters do not restrict the right of voting for members of parliament, to the corporations.

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here to expatiate. The object of the PEOPLE'S BOOK is not to develope theories, or discuss particular forms of government, but to exhibit the real and practical grievances under which the people suffer, leaving to themselves—at least so far as this work is concerned—the application of practical and efficient remedies.

In tracing the origin and progress of the political institutions of England, different conclusions have been drawn from the evidence that has been collected. Some have endeavoured to demonstrate, that any reform or amendment in the present constitution, would be but a recurrence to its original purity; and we think these persons have adduced powerful and conclusive testimony in favour of their position. Others, who attempt to justify and support the existing corruptions of the state, have also reverted to antiquity, and by taking advantage of some trifling and unimportant obscurity which time has attached to the subject, have strived to falsify the data upon which the former conclusions are established; and thus, by a negative testimony of precedent, have thought to invalidate all ancient authority for present renovation or reform.

Although the former class of writers may have extended the inference from facts, beyond a rigid and logical extent, the position of the opposing party is neither strengthened nor improved. Governments are not created at once. After their first rude outlines are formed, time is necessary to bring them to maturity and perfection. The errors of antiquity, or the conceptions of men who flourished when the world was inexperienced, and in infancy, cannot be supposed, by any rational being, to claim the veneration and obedience of a subsequent and more enlightened generation, which has attested by experiment what was before only conceived as a theory, and has thence acquired the power to discriminate between hypothetical and positive truth.

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That which suits the genius of one age is incompatible with that of another: and therefore it is a fallacy to insist that present questions are to be decided by precedent, alone. It so happens, however, that those measures which the majority of the people now consider as absolutely requisite for national reformation and advantage, are supported by the authority of by-gone ages of the constitution: so that in a great measure the demands of the present are substantiated and enforced by the testimony of the past. This will be evident from the following rapid sketch of the origin and progress of the parliament of England.

There is sufficient reason to believe that the rude elements of this national institution existed among the primitive Britons, previous to the Roman invasion. Tacitus*, the Roman historian, has affirmed that something similar, in principle, to the present parliament, existed in the ancient German nations, among whom the people enjoyed a right of assisting, with the nobles, at all important councils: and it is probable that the Britons might thus have acquired a hint from their northern neighbours, with whom they were known to have frequent intercourse. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, affords a similar testimony, and sir Henry Spelman, the learned antiquary, who flourished about the year 1600, asserts, "that the Britons had their *commune concilium*, common council, or parliament, which they called Kyfr-y-then, from their laws being framed in that assembly†." It was this assembly that elected Cassibelan leader of the army, which opposed the invading Romans, and which also, after the Romans evacuated the island, invited the Saxons to assist the Britons, in repelling the incursions of the Picts and Scots.

The Saxons arrived in England about the year 449;

* Concerning the customs of the Germans.

† Condition of ancient tenures.

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and after they had in some degree secured the possession of their new kingdom, they obtained the power of bequeathing their estates to their children. From this hereditary appropriation originated the feudal system, so called from the constituent particles *fee* and *od*, signifying *reward* and *possession*.

The lands which had thus been attained, were divided among the conquerors. This tenure was designated by the name *allodial*, signifying land obtained by lot. But as these new masters of England were exposed to the resentment of the ancient possessors, they were bound in policy to acquiesce in certain obligations; and under the above tenure were compelled to supply a military force, for the general supply, on pain of penalty for defaulture.

Such was the condition of the early adventurers into England; but subsequent craft established a new kind of tenure, under the name of *benefices*. Each king of the several divisions of which the island then consisted, parcelled out the land allotted to him to his adherents, whom he bound to support him with a certain number of armed men. The king's example was followed by his dependants, who again subdivided their lands among their followers.

But there was this difference between the tenure of the *allodial* lands and the *benefices*: the former bound the possesser to serve the *community*, while the latter compelled him to serve the *person* from whom he received the grant. The proprietor of the allodial lands was dignified with the title of *liber homo*, or *freeman*; while the possessor of a *benefice* or *fief* was called a *vassal*. *Military* service was all that the freemen yielded; while the burden of taxes was inflicted on the *vassals* alone. The king, the clergy, and the lords, levied taxes on these *bondsmen* or *villains*, who were in every way degraded to the state of slaves. The feudal system has ceased to exist: and consequently there is no longer

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a continuance of this hereditary bondage. It will be necessary to remember this fact, to facilitate the application of the principles which we are about to develope and establish.

Shortly after the arrival of the Saxons in England, the kingdom was divided into seven parts or principalities, in each of which existed a king and *commune concilium*, or *parliament;* which was then termed the *witena gemot* or *assembly of wise men;* and there was a general assembly of this character, which deliberated on the common affairs of the whole heptarchy.

The political power, which, at this period, the people possessed, is illustrated by a fact recorded by an early historian*, alluding to the deposition of one of the Saxon kings: "King Sigebert growing incorrigible, the great men and the *people* assembled together, in the beginning of the second year of his reign, and deposed him with unanimous consent."—A privilege of subjects, very useful in teaching monarchs to behave well. The power of the people, about this time, is also manifested by Ethelwulph's charter of tithes, where it is said, "These things were granted by the king, barons, and PEOPLE;" and a further confirmation is afforded by the charters of Ethelred and Edward the confessor, the first of which, relating to the abbey of Wolverhampton, thus concludes: "These are the decrees of Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, in the court held before King Ethelred, the archbishop of York, the bishops, abbots, senators, the chiefs, and *people of the whole* country." The second relates to gifts granted to Westminster abbey, and runs thus: "I have ordered, therefore, this charter of my donation, to be read on the day of the dedication of the said church, in the presence of the bishops, abbots, earls, and great men of England, and in the sight and hearing of all the *people*." These

* Henry of Huntingdon.

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passages clearly evince the estimation in which the people were held, at the remote period to which they allude.

Such were the national councils, and popular importance, during the period of the Saxon heptarchy, and so it continued till the time of Alfred the great, when the seven divisions or kingdoms became united. Alfred found it difficult or impossible to assemble the people in person, and therefore adopted the expedient of a representation of the many and distant, by concentrating a selected few. "The *fields* of *March* or *May*, afterwards called the *states-general* in France, the *cortes* in Spain, and, probably, the *diet* in Germany, are the remains of this ancient form of government, introduced by the northern nations, wherever they made their establishments*."

It will here be requisite to refer to the alleged existence of these councils among the Anglo-Saxons, and to substantiate it by evidence. Alfred the great caused his kingdom to be divided into *hundreds* and *tithings*†. These tithings, or boroughs, elected annually a chief officer, and an assembly of ten, who, according to the Saxon laws, collected by Edward the confessor, "tried causes among the villages and neighbours, and, according to conviction, took satisfaction, and settled agreements or litigations." Ten of these tithings formed the *hundred*, which elected a centurion or constable, who held a superior court, to which appeals from the tithings were presented. The families comprising each tithing likewise stood pledged to each other, and to the king, to maintain the public peace, and to repel any hostile aggression made on the country generally.

* Rapin's dissertation on the origin of the government of England.

† Mr. Granville Sharpe, in his view of frankpledge, or security for freemen, and the reverend Dr. D. Wilkins, who printed an edition of the Saxon laws, in 1727, antedate the division of the country into tithings, and prove that it existed in the time of the Britons, and that king Arthur found and enforced the above frankpledge or law.

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The general, or great council, or *mickle gemot*, was constituted of all the freemen of the kingdom; that is, all the householders of the different hundreds. This will be evident from the following preamble, translated by Dr. Wilkins from the Saxon laws:—"Wihtred, the king of Canterbury, in the fifth year of his reign, and the sixth day of August, in a place called Berghamstyde, gathered the principal people to council; there were there all the clergy, and the *herdsfolk*, where the chiefs and the congregation established these laws." Another commences thus:—"This is the compact which king Alfred and king Gythrun, and *all the wise men* of England, and the *people which abide* in East Anglia, *all gathered together*, with an oath confirmed."

From the preceding remarks, we may infer the antiquity of parliaments, and form a tolerably secure conjecture as to the mode of electing members by universal suffrage. This, it is true, cannot be attested by direct positive testimony, but it is rendered credible by the strength of circumstantial or presumptive evidence. However time may have obscured the more minute facts connected with this early period of the British constitution, there is obvious assurance that the primitive Britons, and more especially the Saxons, recognized the principle of parliaments, and the essence of a representative system. Whether their rude governments and institutions were pure or corrupted, is a question of antiquarian research, and not of present utility.

In this general state, the constitution continued from the time of Alfred to the Norman invasion. At that period it underwent an entire change. To secure his usurped possessions, it was obviously requisite for William to subvert the institutions of the conquered people: but though the Saxon constitution was virtually destroyed, "in all likelihood," as Rapin remarks, "the shadow of a parliament was preserved," and it is positively asserted by one

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historian, (*Du Greve*, chap. 38,) that a parliament was *elected*, and called together in the fourth year of William I. The manner of the representation was remarkable. Twelve representatives were elected in each county in the whole kingdom, and were sworn before the king, that they would do the best in their power, without departing either to the right or the left, from the path of truth, declare their laws and customs, nothing wanting, nothing adding, nothing changing by prevarication*. The feudal system, so favourable to absolute dominion, was revived with increased energy, foreign nobles were introduced, and despotic monarchy established in England. The Norman barons exclusively formed the national council, and officiated as magistrates, with absolute sovereignty over the vassals of their estates; and thus the triumph and security of William appeared complete. These were the first results of the usurpation. But the methods which injustice adopts to secure its acquisitions, very frequently prove the means of abolishing or destroying them. The foreign barons, whom William introduced to support his usurpation, at first acknowledged him from whom they had derived such extensive advantages. But when time and circumstances enabled them to reflect, they began to suspect and dread the power by which they had been elevated, and easily discovered that while it was unrestrained in its existence and exercise, it could deprive and oppress, as well as bestow and sustain. This naturally led them to desire a re-establishment of the Saxon laws, which at least professed to restrict the actions of the king. We shall subsequently be able to observe the operation and accomplishment of this rational and necessary measure.

At this juncture, in 1087, William died, and was succeeded by his second son, William, surnamed Rufus, in opposition to the interests of his elder brother, Robert.

* See Lords' Report on the dignity of a Peer, pp. 19, 26.

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The latter made some efforts to regain the kingdom, but was defeated by his brother, who, to unite the people in his cause, promised to re-establish the government on its ancient basis, and to revive the Saxon laws, as this was a measure profoundly desired by the country, as well as by the Norman barons, who supported his father. This promise served for a definite basis of the people's demands: but it was never performed by Rufus, who, dying, left the kingdom to his younger brother; and he in the year 1100, ascended the throne as Henry I., though the eldest brother Robert was still alive. To secure his usurpation, he also made a similar promise of re-establishing the ancient constitution, and confirmed this promise by a formal charter, but it was never performed. The people, though disappointed by the treachery of their kings, were yet gradually acquiring strength and importance, of which such promises are an indisputable evidence. Henry died about the year 1135, and, after some little dispute, was succeeded by Stephen, who gave the country stronger assurances than his predecessors for reviving the Saxon laws, but they proved equally as weak and faithless. The barons became irritated at such a succession of deceit; but, from this period till the reign of king John, nothing of importance occurred in reference to the re-establishment of the Saxon laws. It may here be observed, that there is no distinct evidence that the barons, who are so frequently mentioned as being summoned to the national councils, were possessed of hereditary titles and privileges; it seems probable that they were invested with only temporary dignity and power, for the purpose of granting to the king the aids which they were summoned to supply*.

During the reign of this monarch, the barons accomplished what they had so long desired. They com-

* Du Greve, chap. 35.

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pelled the reluctant John to sign Magna Charta, or the great charter of liberties, by which the power of the king was limited to the same extent as it was among the Saxons, before the conquest. About this period boroughs were much elevated in importance. Many were enfranchised; and it is pretty certain that the gift they received was for the participation of all, and not for the exclusive enjoyment of a few. This fact is illustrated by a charter granted by John, to Great Yarmouth, in which it is stated that he gave the franchise to the inhabitants collectively, in fee absolute*.

We now arrive at the reign in which parliaments assumed a more definite and tangible character. John, who had been compelled to lay the great foundation of national liberty, died, and was succeeded, in 1216, by his son, as Henry III.

In this reign, parliaments were re-established, not from regal inclination, but from overbearing necessity. Soon after his accession to the throne, Henry infringed and repealed the charter, and successively promised and violated his word respecting it, till the barons took arms against him; and in a battle which he risked, he was taken prisoner, and retained in the custody of the Earl of Leicester, in the forty-ninth year of his reign. Writs were then issued by Leicester, in the king's name, to *cities*, *boroughs*, and counties, each of which was commanded to return two, and the cinque ports four, representatives to parliament. This was the first parliament in which, as many contend, there is distinct and authentic evidence that the commons sat†. Its sitting continued, according

* Fœ. firmin. See Appendix to Brady's Boroughs.

† Sir Martin Wright is one who maintained that parliaments were of higher antiquity than above stated. He argues that the charter of John included a kind of representation of all the LIBERI HOMINES REGNI, or all the freemen of the kingdom. And he supports his position, by observing, that the summons-writs issued for the election of the

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to Prynne, for a period of thirty-three days, from the 21st of January, to the 24th of February, 1264. The number of members that constituted this parliament was one hundred and sixty-six; and there is conclusive evidence for believing that they were elected by universal suffrage.

But, as to the supposition of this being the *first* parliament in which the commons sat, it seems highly improbable. It was not likely that the earl of Leicester, surrounded by the tumult and confusion of civil war, would have chosen such a period for effecting a sudden alteration in the constitution of the country, nor that the summons would have been obeyed with promptitude and exactness, by a people previously ignorant of the institution and forms which they were so unexpectedly called upon to establish, and observe. In this reign, however, boroughs were summoned to send representatives. The reader will remember the division of the country by Alfred, and the county representation which he established, and it will here be well to remark, that *boroughs*, or towns, as they grew into importance, by increasing wealth and numbers, were immediately commanded to send members to the national assembly. The mere county representation was not thought sufficient for the towns and boroughs capable of supplying the state with money, or other assistance; and to meet these exigences they received an extension of the elective power. But it was never contemplated by the originators of borough representation, that the franchise should be confined exclusively to those towns to which it was origi-

parliament of Henry III. appeared to have been digested and well known, as they are not entered at large upon the rules, as original documents most certainly would have been, but as notes or remembrances, which would be seen and acknowledged in their alleged shape, as documents perfectly familiar and understood.—APPENDIX TO HIS INTRODUCTION TO THE LAW OF TENURES.

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nally granted, nor that priority of time should be the arbiter of political rights. The borough system, just in its primitive principles and establishments, has been perverted from its original intention, to one of the most base corruptions that ever disgraced the political records of country. On this subject, however, we shall subsequently offer some further remarks.

Henry III. was succeeded by his son, Edward I. With a similar disposition to his father, he became involved in similar difficulties; and the barons refusing the aid he requested, he had recourse to the assembling of a parliament. It may not be amiss here to remind the reader, how exactly the reason which caused the summoning of this and the previous parliaments, accords with the principle before developed, that taxation, or giving supplies to the king, supposed a representation of all those who furnished the money or other assistance. In the present case, the writs which were issued for two knights from each of the counties, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough, to serve the king in parliament, differed from those which had been previously issued on similar occasions. They were *not* addressed to the *cities* and *boroughs*, but to the sheriffs of the counties, who were thereby enabled, and, in fact commanded, to cause the election to be conducted on popular principles. This is evident from the declaration of the writ served on the archbishop of Canterbury—that "that which *concerns* all, should be *approved* by all, and common dangers should be provided against by means furnished by all." The "common dangers" are then generally adduced, as that the archbishop "well knew, what indeed was well known to the whole world, that the king of France had invaded Gascony, and held it unjustly; but not satisfied therewith, he had prepared a great fleet, and founded a great army, to invade England," &c. He and his clergy are then commanded to attend the parlia-

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ment, and "there, with the rest of the prelates, nobles, and OTHER inhabitants of our kingdom, to consider of and make such laws as may be necessary to avert the threatened mischief." This writ is inserted in the Lords' Report on the Dignity of a Peer, and Prynne remarks, that neither before nor since were writs known to be issued with such an introduction.

The reign of Edward I. continued thirty-two years; and from its twenty-third year, he regularly held *annual* parliaments, with the exception only of two years. He, on more than one occasion, held two distinct parliaments in one year, in which knights, citizens, and burgesses were assembled. The longest of the parliaments held in this reign did not exceed two months in duration, which, according to Prynne, "was then reported and styled a long time." How much must the sense or power of the subsequent generation have retrograded, or been overpowered by corruption, to suffer a septennial act to be established;—a measure, which, when investigated, will appear altogether incompatible with sanity or justice!

In the last and in the present reign, we have thus seen the great right of the people to representation formally acknowledged, and placed on a basis which subsequent revolutions were unable to move. It was at this period that the national assembly was designated by the name of parliament.

Next in importance to thus establishing the representation of the common people, was a statute, made two years after the first parliament was summoned, which declares that "No tallage or aid shall be taken or levied by us or our heirs in our realm, without the goodwill and assent of archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of our land*." This was esteemed an act of such solemn justice and immutable

* Statutes of the Realm, 1. fol. 125.

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right, that it was enjoined to be read twice a year in all the churches; and a heavy curse was denounced against any by whom it might be violated or infringed.

It has been doubted whether the burgesses, or commons, did in reality constitute regularly a portion of the parliaments held in this reign. But it is of little importance whether they did or did not. The *principle* by which they were admitted to a seat in the national assembly is abundantly acknowledged by the quotations we have adduced; and it seems probable that it would be carried into execution as soon as it was thus established. In conclusion, it may not be amiss to observe, that the knights of shires, in this reign, were about seventy-four; and the citizens and burgesses about two hundred and thirty-six.

The previous universality of town or borough representation was clearly attested during this reign. In his twenty-third year, Edward professed to restore the ancient Saxon constitution, but instead of summoning the hundreds and tythings to elect representatives, as had previously been the case in the period to which we refer, he issued writs partially. St. Alban's and Barnstable, two boroughs that had previously enjoyed the elective power, were now excluded; and we find their protest against the exclusion made in the next reign. Yet, subsequently, he summoned thirty-eight other boroughs to send members to parliament; and it is remarked, by a recent respectable writer, that "the writs issued in the close of the reign of Edward I. directed that citizens should be returned for *every* city, and burgesses for *every* borough, which of itself would raise the inference, that they were all of the same class and description." Besides, an inspection of their charters will establish that they were so; for though they may vary in some slight degree in their language, in their import and substance they were all the same. And, again, none of the charters define

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who were the citizens or burgesses, because they were sufficiently denoted by the common law—as the "*law-worthy*" or free inhabitants of the country, the *liberi et legalis homines*, or *free and legal members* of the community, who were capable of acting in any of the capacities of citizen or subject.

Edward II. ascended the throne when the principal features of the British constitution were thus developed. He was ultimately deposed for an infraction of magna charta; but during his reign an additional strength and confirmation was conferred upon parliaments. He was compelled to enact a law by which kings undertake "to hold and keep the laws and customs, which the *commonalty* of the people shall establish." In confirming the great charter, the following very important law was likewise established:—"Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament; we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament *once* in the year, or twice, if need be."

Taken in connexion with the antecedent practice of electing parliaments, at the immediate period when they were summoned to assemble, the obvious intention of this law is, that once a year, at least, the king shall cause a parliament to be elected and convened. Two parliaments, distinct as to constitution as well as time, were held in the same year during this reign; and in one year there were three such distinct parliaments. These facts seem the best interpreters of the meaning of the enactment, and should be allowed to have their full and direct weight in deciding the intention of the law*.

* Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of England, contends that this Act means no more than HOLDING, and NOT ELECTING, parliaments annually. He, however, is constrained to admit, "that as the parliaments of that age quickly despatched their simple business, prorogation was unfrequent, and parliament was, in the majority of cases, elected as

During the twenty years which this reign continued, there were only four in which new-elected parliaments did not sit: and this fact affords a sufficient attestation, that annual and distinct parliaments were intended by the act to which we refer. In this reign the commons first petitioned as a distinct body. In the petition of St. Alban's, presented against their exclusion from sending members, and to which subject the reader's attention has already been directed, in the former reign, the petitioners assert, that though they held in *capite* of the crown, and owed only for all other service their attendance in parliament, yet the sheriff had omitted them in his writs; whereas, in the reign of the king's father, and *all* his predecessors, they had always sent members. Such a fact needs no present comment. Edward the second added sixteen new boroughs to those already in existence, disfranchised seventeen, and restored seven.

Edward III., according to Prynne, "summoned no fewer than three or four parliaments in a year, whose sessions were very short, sometimes not a week, mostly not more than a fortnight, rarely above a month, and that on extraordinary occasions*." The greatest parliament which had then ever been assembled, sat in the fiftieth year of this king's reign: "yet," says Prynne, "it continued but ten weeks and four days: how many grievances it redressed, how many delinquents it censured, how many great acts it made and accomplished for the benefit of the age and future generations, the parliament rolls and statutes will best inform you†."

The act of Edward the second, "that the king should

often as it was assembled. Between his previous inference, therefore, and this admission, there seems a singular discrepancy. The intention of this law, and the obedience to it, were more likely to be understood at the time of its original promulgation, than by its subsequent and often interested expounders.

* Writs. P. 4, p. 10.

† Idem.

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hold a parliament once in the year or twice if required," was subsequently repealed by that monarch; but in the present reign it was revived, and by the 4, Edward III. c. 15, it is enacted, "*that a parliament shall be holden every year once, and more often if need be*[•]." From the fourth to the thirty-sixth year of this king's reign, writs for fresh parliaments have been found for every succeeding year, excepting three. This is certainly a lucid and demonstrative commentary on the spirit and intention of the words, "that a parliament should be *holden every* year;" and at once evinces that *fresh* elections for every annual parliament were contemplated by the framers of the law. If such were not the spirit and intention of this act, nor such the interpretation of it by those who brought it into existence, how is the annual issue of writs by the king, to which we have just referred, to be accounted for? In this affair, speculation, or matter of opinion, is expunged at once by the *prima facie* evidence of fact. A parliament is directed, by the act, to be held once a year; the king complies with the legal injunction, and annually issues *new* writs for the assembling of new parliaments. More conclusive evidence cannot be demanded or supplied! This king summoned twenty-eight boroughs, restored five, and disfranchised forty-one. In the fifty-first year of his reign, a chairman seems first to have been appointed by the house of commons, which had previously sat apart from the lords.

Richard II. reigned twenty years, during which period, with a single exception, new parliaments were held every year. The parliament which assembled in the eleventh year of this reign, according to Prynne, "sat the longest of any before it; to wit, ninety-nine days." Richard was deposed, for his frequent violation of popular rights, and the parliament changed the succession. In the

• Stat. I. fol 225.

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fifth year of this reign, it was enacted, that "all and singular the persons and commonalties, which, from henceforth, shall have the summons of parliament, shall come from henceforth to the parliaments in the manner they are bound to do, and have been accustomed within the realm of England, of old times. And if any persons of the same realm, which from henceforth shall have the said summons (be he archbishop, bishop, abbot, prior, duke, earl, baronet, banneret, knight of the shire, citizen of city, burgess of borough, or other singular person or commonalty), do absent himself, &c. he shall be amerced and otherwise punished, according as of old times hath been used to be done within the said realm and in the said case.*" This at once evinces the antiquity and the character of parliaments, in reference to the representation of the commons. Richard disfranchised five boroughs, one of which he subsequently restored.

Henry IV. succeeded Richard, and reigned thirteen years and a half. During this period he regularly held a parliament every year, with the exception of the eighth, and the parliament which succeeded this year, was called in about ten months after the dissolution of its precursor. The parliament which this king summoned in his seventh year, assembled on the 1st of March, and dissolved on the 22nd of December. It assembled in the succeeding April, and continued its sitting till June, when it was *prorogued*. This was the first instance of the king's proroguing parliament, solely by his own power and inclination, and was obviously an infringement of the constitution. He restored the elective power to three boroughs.

Henry V. reigned nine years, during which time he held a parliament annually, excepting in his seventh year; and in no less than four instances, assembled two separate parliaments in one year. A petition of the commons, presented in this reign, sets forth the privilege which

† Stat. 5, Richard II. sect. 2.

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that body then possessed and had long enjoyed. It speaks thus: "It ever hath been their libertie and freedom, that no statute nor law be made unless they passed thereto their assent, considering that the commune of your land, the which is and ever hath been a member of your parliament be as well *assenters* as *petitioners*." The argument, therefore, which denies the ancient power of parliaments, must be considered as a mere assumption for party interests. The present Henry restored three disfranchised boroughs.

It will not be amiss here to remind the reader, that the writs for parliaments, issued in those remote periods, directed the sheriffs of the counties to whom they were addressed, to summon together the *whole* community of their respective districts, for the purpose of electing representatives. This fact is established beyond dispute by the following writ, issued during the reign of Henry IV.:—

"Kent. In the twelfth year of Henry the Fourth. Indent. for the knights of Kent.

"This indenture, made at Canterbury, on Monday the next before the feast of the Apostle Simon and Jude, next following after the receipt of the writ of the lord the king, annexed to this indenture, between John Daniel, sheriff of the said county, and Robert Clifford, Valentine Baret, John Broke, James Dingley, and Thomas Lane, and William Lane, &c. who, to choose knights and citizens for the parliament of the lord the king, to be holden at Westminster on the morrow of All Souls, were impowered by virtue of the writ of the same lord the king, in the behalf, addressed to the same sheriff, BY THE ASSENT OF ALL THAT COUNTY, have chosen Reginald Pympe and William Artibem, knights for the *community*, William Hickman and William Roe, citizens, for the *community* of the city of Canterbury, Roger Langford and John Everhard, citizens, for the *community* of the city of Rochester. In witness whereof, as well the aforesaid sheriff, as

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the aforesaid Robert Valentine, have alternately affixed their seals, the day and year above mentioned." In the reign of Henry the V. writs precisely similar to the above were issued. The elective power is always referred to as resident in the whole community. This is manifest from the wording of the writ just quoted; but the truth will be rendered more apparent and irrefragable by a subsequent act which we shall have occasion to notice.

Henry VI. reigned thirty-nine years, and held regular annual parliaments. Till the time of this king, which was one of tumult, bloodshed, and confusion, *prorogations* were scarcely known. Parliaments assembled, despatched their simple business, and were dissolved. But prorogation, in consequence of popular commotions, gradually crept into usage as a matter of convenience. It was during the reign of this king that suffrage was restricted to freeholders. The preamble of the limiting act, passed in the eighth year of Henry's reign, is a triumphant attestation of the previous universality of suffrage. It commences thus:—

"Whereas the election of knights of shires to come to parliament of our lord the king, in many counties of the realm of England, have now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people dwelling within the same counties, &c., of which most part was people of small substance and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice, equivalent, as to such elections to be made, with the most worthy knights and esquires, dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions, among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, *shall rise and be*, unless convenient and due remedy be provided," &c.

Universality of suffrage is the only and evident principle which this act was intended to limit and counteract. Without the acknowledgment of this obvious truth, the act is a useless combination of words, issued without

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design, and directed to no purpose*. It was passed in a period of considerable excitement, when the public mind was exasperated by the ill fortunes of the English affairs in France, and the people were demonstrating opinions not consonant with the interests of those in power. If, therefore, the evidence arising from the cited writs, addressed to the whole community, be combined with the evidence afforded by an act which professed to limit that which it declares or implies to have been previously universal, the universality of suffrage is most irrefragably attested. It is proved by a testimony which could not have been more positive, forcible, or direct. The alleged cause of limiting the elective franchise, is the evils which *might* ensue; not inconveniences actually felt, but "manslaughters, batteries, and divisions" which should "very likely rise and be!" Henry restored the franchise to seven boroughs. But we will return to our narrative.

Edward IV. reigned twenty-three years, but in consequence of the agitated state of the country, parliaments were not assembled with regularity. Those summoned were, however, of very short duration. In the twelfth year of this reign the parliament was prorogued three times, and was continued, altogether, for seventeen months. It was by this king that boroughs were first created by charter. Fifteen boroughs were disfranchised, and three restored, during this reign.

Edward V. reigned not, excepting under the protectorship of the Duke of Gloucester, who almost immediately usurped the throne as Richard III., and only one parliament was called between his first becoming king, till his death at the battle of Bosworth Field.

* From the re-establishment of representation, to the 8th. Henry VI. the right of election of representatives, both for the counties, and for the cities and boroughs contained in them, seems to have been in THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTY, in county court assembled; but this right, as to counties, by the 8th of Henry VI. was restricted to 40s. freeholders. Archbold's Notes to Blackstone, vol. 1, p. 147.

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Henry VII. succeeded Richard, and the unsettled state in which the country for a considerable time had existed, in consequence of the violence of faction and intrigue, predisposed the people to concede any thing for the promise of a restoration of internal security; while the doubtfulness of the king's title to the throne, made him anxious to secure his succession by conciliating parliament. He called a parliament in the first year of his reign, which having granted what he desired, was dissolved in three weeks. But from the irregularity with which the commons were subsequently assembled, there is every reason to suppose that he would not have troubled parliaments again, had there been any means by which he could have raised pecuniary supplies without them. He restored one borough.

Henry VIII. was celebrated in history for his rugged barbarity and despotism. To govern by the fiat of caprice, to obtain the most implicit obedience and servility to the commands of determined tyranny and domination, was the distinctive character of this royal and detestable monster. That he would have defied every law but his own will, had the people not possessed some controul over their chief servant, is very evident. He therefore called parliaments merely for his own convenience. He kept one parliament in existence during the space of nearly five years and a half. From 1515, to 1530, he governed without parliaments, excepting one that did not continue its session for more than four months. He extended the elective power in Wales. Twelve knights were summoned to represent the twelve counties; and forty boroughs were allowed to elect twelve burgesses. Calais, at this time belonging to the British crown, likewise sent its members to parliament, and the franchise was restored to four large towns where it had been previously suspended. But though the opposers of an extension of the elective power have industriously informed us

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of the danger and inconvenience of giving members to such places as Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester, there are no traces of evil resulting from the increase of members which occurred during the reign of Henry VIII.

Edward VI., who died in his minority, had only two parliaments held during his brief reign. The first existed nearly five years, and the last continued but four months. He granted the right of representation to thirteen cities and boroughs, amongst which was the city of Westminster; and, with restoration of suspended franchise, made altogether an addition of ninety-eight members to the house of commons! Yet this multiplication produced no detrimental effects in the country. Why, then, are certain parties so averse to making what they are pleased to term an innovation in the constitution in favour of the most important towns in the kingdom? Their motives must be fully understood and appreciated!

Mary, during her reign of five years, held five parliaments, and the longest interval which occurred between their sittings was twenty months. She conferred the elective power on eleven new boroughs, and restored it to three.

Elizabeth reigned forty-four years, during which period parliaments were irregularly assembled, and continued, apparently, just as long as she thought convenient. She held but ten; and at three different intervals, each four years in duration. She governed without a parliament at all. How these recent irregularities operated, and what effect their principle ultimately produced, we shall presently ascertain. We now arrive at the commencement of that period when a premeditated and persevering effort was made to crush the people, and extinguish the sacred name of popular liberty. She created twenty-one, and restored nine boroughs.

James I. succeeded Elizabeth, and immediately summoned a parliament, which he kept sitting nearly seven

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years. He summoned another in his twelfth year; but the spirit of liberty manifested by the commons was discordant with the absolute notions of James; and he therefore dissolved the house, and contrived to govern the kingdom without a parliament for the space of six years and a half; at the end of which period his pecuniary wants obliged him again to assemble the lords and commons. They, however, could not satisfy the wishes of a king who was bent upon extending the royal prerogative to perfect despotism; they were accordingly dismissed: and it is probable that nothing but absolute necessity caused the convocation of the other parliament which sat during this reign. This was summoned in the twenty-first year of James, and during the twenty-second he died. His constant wish was to be independent of parliaments, and absolute in power. Hence he subverted the established laws, and would probably have further succeeded in his despotic projects, had not death ended his iniquitous career. The following reign demonstrated the power of an excited people. James added two members to the universities, chartered four new boroughs, and restored eight.

Charles I. held a parliament in each of three first years of his reign, the longest of which did not continue its sittings for twelve months. But parliaments became as obnoxious to Charles as they had been to James; and after dismissing the last of the above-mentioned three, he persisted in governing without parliaments for upwards of eleven years. At the expiration of this interval, he summoned another, but it was dissolved in less than a month; and it was in the same year that the parliament which subsequently dethroned him, was assembled. He was beheaded!

Oliver Cromwell then rose into notice and power; but the *patriots* who flourished at this period quite forgot the original character of the *representative* constitution; and

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Oliver Cromwell dissolved a parliament which was nearly eighteen years old. I will not detain the reader with a detail of the anarchy and confliction of party which distracted the country from the death of Cromwell to the restoration. Parliaments were as distinct from the choice and wishes of the people then as they are now. Corrupt *power* then, as at present, triumphed over popular right.

Charles II. called a parliament in his second year, which continued sitting for the immense period of seventeen years! He subsequently invoked three other parliaments, the last of which was dissolved in 1681, and from that time till his death, in 1685, this vicious and despicable monarch ruled the kingdom despotically by his will. In fact, he was never under a sufficient restraint, even when his so-called parliaments were assembled.

James II. held two parliaments during his brief and disgraceful reign, the latter of which was sitting when he abdicated the throne.

William III. convoked a parliament soon after his accession to the crown, which he, the renovator of English popular rights, kept in existence for upwards of six years! How singularly inveterate is the monarchy mania! The constitutional rights of the people had been pretty well invaded before the arrival of this foreign king; parliaments had been continued longer than their original constitution allowed them; but that which had been done without law was now made the subject of legal enactment; and William, in the second year of his reign, subverted the practice of annual elections, and passed the triennial act. It was during the reign of this monarch that the foundation of that huge bugbear, the national debt, was laid; and the power of corruption which that measure generated throughout the constitution of king, lords, and commons, is quite sufficient to determine what were the motives which, in the subsequent king's time, produced another aggravated invasion of the people's rights.

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George I., another foreign prince, in the first year of his reign, abrogated the triennial, and established the septennial law. As this was the death blow to the little remaining liberty of England, and is at present the principal cause of national misery and political corruption, it will not be necessary to trace the history of parliament down to our own times; but it may be proper here to inform the reader, that the septennial bill, which originated in the house of lords, was not carried without a violent and laudable opposition from many peers. Lord Trevor observed, in the debate on this subject, "that he himself looked upon the triennial act as an essential part of our ancient constitution, according to which frequent and even *annual* parliaments were to be held. That he could easily prove that long parliaments were pernicious, and that, in his opinion, frequent elections were a necessary right of the subject to remedy abuses. The long sitting of parliaments would give the crown both an opportunity and temptation to multiply the number of officers." The earl of Peterborough wittily remarked, "that if the present parliament continued beyond the time for which they were chosen, he knew not how to express the manner of their existence, unless, begging leave of that venerable bench, (turning to the bishops) they had recourse to the distinction used in the Athanasian creed, for they would be neither created nor made, but proceeding." The earl of Nottingham observed, "that frequent and new parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom; and that the practice thereof for many ages was a sufficient evidence of this constitution. That this bill was so far from preventing corruptions, that it would rather increase them; for that the longer a parliament was to last, the more valuable to be purchased was a station in it, and the greater also the danger of corrupting the members of it. That whatever reasons there might be to continue the present parliament for seven years, would be

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at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry might be made much stronger before the end of seven years, for continuing it still longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm." The supporters of this septennial abomination, urged the feeble argument, which their descendants have universally adopted, that frequent elections were inconvenient! The bill, however, was passed, with a majority of thirty-five voices. The dissentient lords entered the following protest against the committal of the bill.

PROTEST OF THE PEERS.

1. Because we conceive that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom; and the practice thereof, for many ages, (which manifestly appears by our records) is a sufficient proof of this constitution.

2. Because it is agreed, that the house of commons must be chosen by the people; and when so chosen, they are truly the representatives of the people; which they cannot so properly be said to be, when continued for a longer time than that for which they were chosen; for after that time, they are chosen by the parliament and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who either do not understand, or through corruption do wilfully betray, the trust reposed in them; which remedy is to choose better men in their places.

3. Because the reasons given for this bill, we conceive were not sufficient to induce us to pass it, in subversion of so essential a part of our constitution.

(1.) For as to the argument, that this will encourage the princes and states of Europe to enter into alliance with us, we have not heard any one minister assert, that any one prince or state has asked, or so much as insinuated,

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that they wished such an alteration. Nor is it reasonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected that any prince or state can rely on a people to defend their liberties and interests, who shall be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wish such an experiment, after the experience Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them under the constitution which is to be altered by this bill.

(2.) We conceive this bill is so far from preventing expenses and corruptions, that it will rather increase them; for the longer a parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also the danger of corrupting the members of it: for should there be a ministry who shall want a parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from discovery of their ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwise, or so truly, be informed of them as by a free parliament, to so much the influence of elections (which, by their authority, and the disposal of public money, they of all others have the best means of doing), that it is to be feared that they will be tempted, and not fail to make use of them; and even when the members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the sessions of parliament, but the parliament itself, were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for a good ministry will neither practice nor need corruption, so it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the security of a bad one.

(3.) We conceive that whatsoever reasons may induce the lords to pass this bill to continue this parliament for seven years, will be at least as strong, and may, by the conduct of the ministry, be made much stronger, before the end of seven years, for continuing it yet still longer,

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and even to perpetuate it, which would be an express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm.

(signed,)

Somerset, Shrewsbury, Anglesey, Osborne, Compton, Bristol, Tadcaster, Nottingham, Abingdon, Guilford, Aylesford, Foley, Ashburnham, Mansel, Gower, Bathurst, Weston, Bruce, Willoughby de Broke, Powlet, Dartmont, Bingley, Strafford, Trevor, Montjoy, Northampton, Fr. Roffen, P. Hereford, F. Cestriens, Salisbury.

When the bill was sent to the lower house, a motion was made to reject it without reading. It was, however, read a first and second time, and at the latter a discussion occurred, in which several members distinguished themselves by able speeches against the measure. Sir Robert Raymond observed, "that frequent *new* parliaments are our constitution, and the calling and holding of them was for many ages the practice. Before the conquest, parliaments were held three times every year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. In Edward the Third's time, it was enacted, 'that parliaments should be holden every year once, and oftener, if need be.' This must be understood of *new* parliaments, for prorogations and long adjournments were not then known; they were never heard of till late years." He likewise observed, "that a long parliament was plainly destructive of the subjects' just right, and many ways inconsistent with the good of the nation. Was it reasonable that any particular men should, for a long time, engross so great a trust, exclusive of others? Could it be of advantage to the public, that the counties, cities, and boroughs, should be long confined to those they had once chosen, their interests admitting of great variation in length of time?" The supporters of the measure, as in the house of lords, recommended it by similar allusions to the inconvenience of frequent elections; and it was carried by a majority of 264 votes against 121.

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Our historical detail has thus developed the important facts, that ancient suffrage was universal, and that the election of parliaments was annual. Those, however, who would resist the constitutional and obvious rights of the subject, attempt to evade these facts; but however the sophistry of corruption may disguise or conceal the truth, there is evidence sufficient to convince any candid man of the original universality of suffrage, and the annual election of parliaments. But it may not be amiss to recapitulate that evidence, and to offer a few observations on its character.

We find, then, the term *commonalty*, or common people, continually occurring in charters and writs; and the comprehensive interpretation to which it is entitled, is established by that enactment which deprived some part of the community of the elective power, and conferred it on another. The law, thus created by Henry VI. of course is intended to contract that which was before unlimited, its very passing implies an abridgment of that which was universal: had there not been an antecedent privilege, no privilege could have been suspended or withheld. The evidence, therefore, of the ancient universality of ancient suffrage, is at once demonstrated from the act by which it was destroyed. It may be objected, however, that we have no specific evidence that the franchise was exercised by every man before this period: but this does not affect the validity of the position. The universal *right* of voting for representatives was never denied, nor restricted, till the reign to which we refer: and if the probable transmission of Saxon laws and institutions be allowed its just weight in estimating the question, there will be no difficulty in adopting the conclusion which we have attempted to deduce.

Of the annual election of parliaments, it seems scarcely requisite to offer any proof. It has already been remarked,

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that not only were parliaments *held* every year, and frequently much oftener, but that *new* writs were issued every time the country was summoned to send representatives to this national assembly. Had these meetings been mere re-convocations of old and already elected members, the warrants to counties and boroughs, evidently implying the election of a *new* body, and not the re-assembling of an old one, would have been a piece of stupid mockery, of which it would be unjust to suspect our ancestors capable. The annual election and assembling of parliaments, and their obviously new or distinct character, were but in compliance with the law as interpreted by those who made it; or those who, it must be acknowledged, were the best able to determine its spirit and intention. But this law, like that of universal suffrage, is attested and illustrated by its subsequent repeal. We have seen, in the progress of this historical sketch, the gradual encroachment of irregularity in assembling parliaments, till at length it was inferred by the Stuart family, that the convocation of the representatives of the people, was a matter of royal prerogative, and utterly contingent on the royal will;—from an established popular right, it was degraded into a mere expedient for the gratification and convenience of kings. James the first had always contemned and dreaded parliaments; the first Charles lost his head by defying his people; and his successor, untaught by the example of his predecessors, kept a parliament sitting for seventeen years. It was, therefore, not surprising, after the abdication of James the second, and the introduction of William to the British crown, that a country which had been denuded of its dearest liberties, should demand a restoration of usurped rights. The abuse of protracting the existence of parliaments according to the royal will, whenever attacked, was excused or justified by a recurrence to the conduct of former kings. The original constitution was never fairly adduced, or

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honestly interpreted; and its character was either so unknown or forgotten, or the people were so eager to snatch at the slightest shadow of a restoration of their privileges, that the triennial act was easily executed in a country groaning beneath the effects of corrupt and unlimited parliaments. But was it ever imagined that by triennial parliaments was meant a mere assembling of members tri-annually? Did not the word *triennial* convey the law and intention of *electing*, as well as *convoking*, the representatives of the people? Does not the subsequent and abominable encroachment of *septennial* parliaments imply and demand an election every seven years? It is evident, from ancient and modern practice, that the *convocation* of parliament may be regarded, in some degree, as contingent on circumstances occurring between the definite periods of established election and assembly. Thus, by analogy, the present practice of electing parliaments, is a fair illustration of the past. There is not a valid argument against the position, that by annual parliaments, as established by act of Edward III., annual elections were intended, and that this law was so executed by those among whom it was first established.

We perceive, then, that the demand of the people for universal suffrage and annual parliaments, is supported by ancient authority and precedent. But suppose that such authority had militated against the present wishes of the people? Could that fact subvert their right to modify the constitution to existing circumstances? If my grandfather had lived in a bad house, where the rain beat through the broken windows and roof, should not I be regarded as a crazy zealot for antiquity, if I refused to have the house repaired, merely because it had been dilapidated for many years? It is unnecessary to offer the reply, and equally unnecessary to demonstrate that existing institutions, to be secure and beneficial, must be adapted to present exigences.

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The ancient principle, that "that which concerneth all should be done by all," and that "he who pays taxes should be represented," is based in obvious and immutable truth: and, as no man can escape from the indirect or immediate imposts of England; as every article of consumption returns a sum to the revenue, every man is a consumer, and has a consequent right to his share of influence in the national government. As to confining the elective power to a certain number, it is against every principle of rectitude: it reduces multitudes from independence to an absolute servitude to others. It restricts the choice of representatives to a comparative few, who may be deficient in wisdom or honesty, and therefore exercise their power to the injury or destruction of many others, more distinguished by intelligence or integrity.

Of annual parliaments it may be remarked, that they are the most direct and certain frustration of the contingent vice or folly of the people's representatives that could possiby be devised. Septennial, or long parliaments, not only destroy the connection between electors and representatives, but they place the destinies of the country beyond the control of the people, for a period in which corruption may be matured into systematic fraud, and the principles of popular liberty be infringed or destroyed. The whole rights of the subjects are suspended on the honesty of parliament; and as such a trust is conferred, too much security cannot be demanded or received. But, in extending the period of representative power beyond the shortest reasonable limit, temptations are multiplied to assail and bewilder human weakness, and the character of a popular government is extinguished in every thing but name. How can conscious responsibility be sustained in those who feel that for seven years they have freed themselves from the radical support and influential dictation of the constituents by whom they were

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elected and empowered? The voice of the people never extends further than the hustings; they are, in fact, from a voluntary resignation of their own authority, deserving of the contempt with which their representatives treat them after the besotting scene of the election has concluded. "It is a defect in the constitution," says Rapin, "that the deputies to parliament receive no instruction from those whom they represent. The moment they are met, they become masters and sovereigns of those by whom they were elected, and palm upon the public their own decisions for those of the public, though they are ever so contrary, as they frequently are, to the sentiments and interests of the public represented."* Frequency of change or election is the only mode by which requisite dependence and responsibility can be insured in representatives. The objection against annual parliaments, that they will produce party feelings and frequent inconvenience, is too infirm an objection to preponderate the advantages by which they are certainly attended. Temporary inconvenience is preferable to lasting evil. But it may be observed, in reference to the intended argument against short parliaments, that its apprehensions are grounded on hypothesis; that it urges the things that *may* happen, the contingences that *may* occur, without once controverting the solid and certain advantages which such parliaments *must necessarily* ensure: and hence, like the timid and bewildered Hamlet, say, "'tis better to bear the evils that we have, than to fly to others that we know not of." The certain advantages, however, in this case, are greater than the possible evils; and therefore change becomes imperative. To attempt the perpetuation of grievances, by placing hypothetical evil against positive wrong, must be the last resource of infirm and corrupted intellect.

* History of England, vol. 13, p. 57.

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It has thus been briefly evinced, that universal suffrage and annual parliaments are sanctioned by constitutional precedent; and we will now view the state of the representation, as induced by the converse practice of long parliaments and a limitation of the elective franchise.

The borough system is the great mammoth of political corruption.

That the church, the army, the navy, the revenue, and the law, are all made subservient to borough influence, is a fact too notorious to be denied. In the courts of law, where talent excludes them from the higher stations, we see noble and right honourable boroughmongers condescend to act as clerks, registrars, patentees, messengers, and receivers, and carry bags and wands at the tail of those whose ability alone keeps them at a humble distance.

Another incurable evil in a house of commons where four-fifths of its members are composed of *nominees* from an oligarchy of between two and three hundred individuals, is, that there is no feeling for those who are only virtually represented; no feeling for the great community who pay all the taxes, serve all public offices, and bear all the burdens of the state. This is every day proved by the contemptuous disregard shewn to the petitions of the people. Every advantage that a country could derive from a representative government is, in fact, lost under the borough system. The opinions of the patrons, as the seat-sellers are called, are always at variance with the electors, whose suffrages they influence and control. The sentiments of parliament are therefore never to be considered as the sentiments of the people.

The state of the nomination boroughs, or the pocket boroughs, as they are more generally called, is worse than even those that are influenced by corruption, for a candidate of the most opposite principles may sometimes succeed in the latter, if he will bid higher than

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another; whereas, there are upwards of forty boroughs of the former description, which are the sole property of individuals, and where the election is all a farce. Some attorney, or the groom, or any other servant of the proprietor, may set his back against a tree, as in the case of Beeralston, or stand on a barren spot of land at Old Sarum, or symbolize one of the stones at Midhurst, and return two members to parliament, who represent neither persons, property, nor interests; the spot of land which constitutes this nominal borough having in some cases been sold on a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, and the nominal freehold only retained for the purpose of returning two members to represent a *non-entity* in parliament. This is what the boroughmongers call *virtual* representation!

A second class of pocket boroughs, are such as have an actual right of voting vested in some description of persons, but where the borough is so decayed that scarcely any are left to exercise such a pretended right. Gatton, in Surrey, is one of those where the right of election is in freeholders and householders paying scot and lot, and the only person possessing a freehold and a house in the borough is lord Monson, who returns two members to represent himself!

The third class of pocket boroughs are those where the right of election has been assumed by corporations, contrary to ancient usage, where it was from time immemorial vested in the inhabitants at large. In this class are the opulent cities of Bath, Winchester, and Salisbury, and the populous towns of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Cambridge, where the inhabitants who pay all the taxes have no more concern in electing the members than have the inhabitants of Constantinople. In this class are also many corporations which receive annuities from the patrons, who reimburse themselves by selling the seats. It was proved before a committee of the house of commons

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in the Malmesbury case, in 1808, that Edward Wilkins, an apothecary, allowed ten out of the thirteen capital burgesses, who elected the two members for Malmesbury, an annuity of thirty pounds per annum each, for the corrupt purpose of returning two members to parliament;—and that in consequence of possessing this parliamentary influence he obtained for himself the lucrative office of receiver-general for the county of Wilts, besides selling the seats to two ministerial nominees for four or five thousand pounds each. In another corporation borough in the West of England, it is notorious that each member of the corporation who chooses to accept it, has a regular annuity from a peer, and that they receive their stipend weekly, in the same manner that the paupers receive their weekly pay from the parish.

These three classes of boroughs are called pocket boroughs, because the proprietors and patrons can nominate the members with the same certainty as they appoint their postillions and grooms, and carry them to market as they do their cattle and pigs.

A fourth class comprehends all those places where *influence* supersedes freedom of choice, by practices as unconstitutional as they are oppressive. These are called the manageable boroughs. In this class may be included many counties and cities in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which are as *manageable* as the most rotten boroughs.

That our readers may understand what is meant by the parliamentary word "management," we need only give the following relation.—The patron of a large town in Ireland, finding, on the approach of an election, that an opposition was to be made to his interest, marched a regiment of soldiers into the place from Loughrea, where they were quartered, and caused them to be elected freemen. These military freemen then voted for his friend, who was, of course, returned!

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During a contest for the borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, some years since, two hundred freeholds were split into two thousand, and non-resident voters were brought, at an enormous expense, from all parts of the kingdom, to elect four members for this immaculate borough, some of whom voted for *the thirteen-hundred-and-sixtieth part of a sixpenny freehold!* One attorney at Bath received two thousand four hundred guineas for making twelve hundred nominal freeholders, at two guineas for each conveyance, when these men had no more real interest in the soil than they had in the forests of Siberia.

This is called "management," but these are innocent practices compared with many that take place, such as creating a warren of freeholders in one county, which was the case in Downshire, where not less than thirty thousand were made to support the nomination of a noble marquis. This practice was common in the Irish counties, where they were, before the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, registered among the mountain tenantry, whose yearly head rent did not exceed two shillings and six-pence; but living upon this half-crown tenure, they were enabled to swear to a derivation interest of forty shillings per annum. This right, instead of being an advantage to the freeholder, was an excessive burden, as he was obliged to attend elections at the command of the agent, often with great inconvenience; and was ordered to vote for the object of his landlord's choice, with as little ceremony as the Jamaica planter would direct his slave to the performance of the meanest office. This is not offered as an apology, however, for the disfranchisement of this class of electors. The remedy for the evil was to protect them in the exercise of their right, by such an expedient as the ballot, and not to deprive them of it, against every principle of justice and equity.

After this information, the reader will not be surprised

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to learn, that nearly all the boroughs, and many of the cities and counties, are either dictated to, or over-ruled in their choice of members, by the will of some borough proprietor, or great territorial possessor; and that there are few counties in which a coalition of two or three of the principal land owners, will not settle the election according to their own views.

In Scotland, the right of election was popular and free till the reign of James the Sixth of Scotland, and first of England. The whole representation of that country is now, however, from individual nomination. Twenty-one peers and fourteen commoners dictate the return of all the forty-five representatives for that part of the united kingdom. The county of Cornwall sends forty-four, forty-two of whom are nominated by nine peers, and six commoners:—in like manner, near four-fifths of what is called the virtual representation of the country is nominated, or their return to parliament influenced, by one hundred and forty-four peers, and one hundred and twenty-three commoners; which two hundred and sixty-seven individuals form the oligarchy, who, by nominating so great a majority of the house of commons, have command of the persons, the properties, and the liberties, of the whole people of England, Scotland, and Ireland; who have contracted a debt of nearly one thousand millions, and have laid taxes upon the people to the amount of more than the whole rental of the United Kingdom!

The anomalies which the ministerial plan of reform will create, in the right of voting, have been characterised by the opponents of the measure as "monstrous," and as "calculated to excite great discontent." Mr. O'Connell, with a greater semblance of truth, declares that "there is not more diversity in the shades of colour in the West Indies than in the *present* elective franchise in England." The following summary comprises the chief

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of the varieties:—Freeholders and freemen; mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, and headboroughs; mayor, jurats, and freemen; bailiffs, jurors, and freemen; portreeves, and lords of the manor, who are capable of being portreeves; the common house or common council; the commonalty in general; all the inhabitant householders; citizens and freemen; bailiffs and portmen; holders by burgage tenure; inhabitants paying scot and lot; all the inhabitants not receiving alms; inhabitants being potwallopers; resident beneficial leaseholders; copyholders (as at Cricklade, which is the only place where copyholders are entitled to vote); inhabitants of ancient vote-houses of twenty shillings per annum, paying scot and lot, who shall be resident in such houses at the time of the election (as at Weobley, where the aforesaid ancient vote-houses are deserted, until just previous to an election, when the servants of the marquis of Bath carry thither beds, provisions, &c., for the accommodation of the actors in the farce of returning two members to parliament). Here are *seventeen anomalies*, and many others might be enumerated. At Ludgershall (one of the "substantial parts of the constitution," as Mr. Praed calls them) a doorway gives the right of voting; and at Weymouth the qualification is, in some cases, as we have already said, the thirteen-hundredth part of a sixpenny freehold!

The state of the Scotch representation, is, however, too interesting to be passed over in the few words we have bestowed upon it. It exhibits the perfection of "virtual representation," and has worked most admirably for the oligarchy by which the whole kingdom is ruled. The right of the people of that country to vote in the election of members of parliament, is so nearly annihilated, that in 1794, two of the counties had only *three* real voters in each, in seven other counties there were not more than

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ten ; and in all of them very few. The following general outline of the system in Scotland, is derived from the Spectator.

The number of Scotch representatives is 45 ; of these, 30 are chosen by 33 counties, 14 by 66 burghs, and 1 by the city of Edinburgh. The number of electors is not easily ascertained, as there are few gentlemen of large property who do not possess votes in more counties than one ; and of professional men, such as barristers and attorneys, some find it convenient to possess votes in four or five counties. The number of electors in the burghs is neither uniform nor in all cases fixed. The whole of the voters, both in the counties and burghs, do not probably exceed 30,000, or 1 for every 750 souls, assuming the population at 2,000,000, (it was 2,100,000, in 1821).

Of the large counties, 27 elect each a member, the remaining 6 elect three members, after a manner which throroughly marks the determination of the handful of freeholders in each to make the most of their power. Thus, Kinross with its dozen, and Clackmannan with its score of voters, do not join to return a member ; but Kinross returns for one parliament, and Clackmannan for the next, and thus each county has its own share of good things without challenge or competition. The qualification of a Scotch freeholder is nominally £400, Scotch (£33 6*s.* 8*d.*) of rental ; but as the valuation is nearly two hundred years old, the real qualification has risen from £400, Scotch, to £800, English. A Scotch freehold always implies land, and only land. A freehold estate of houses, to a northern ear, is an expression which conveys no meaning. The duke of Buccleugh's princely palace would not afford the tithe of a qualification. But, although qualifications are derived from land only, they may, from a form of tenure peculiar to Scotland, be separated from the possession of it. He who has a freehold may sell the estate from which it is derived,

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and yet retain his right of voting; or he may sell his estate to one man, and his right of voting to another. The freeholders are thus divided into landholders and superiors; or, as they are termed, real and paper. The paper voters, again, are divided into life-voters, created merely to extend the influence of some great holder of land, or of superiority: and proprietors. The proprietors are mostly lawyers, who purchase superiorities as a matter of business, and who are sometimes called the independent electors of the county, because they are open to purchase, by any one who wants their assistance. A mere superiority costs from £600, to £1,200, according as the county is well or indifferently stocked with voters. The paper-voters are to the real, in the proportion of nearly two-thirds. In a sensible and well-written pamphlet, by Alexander Dunlop, Esq. advocate, the votes in the county of Renfew are thus arranged:—

Real Votes	*i. e.* Proprietors of land - -	35
Paper votes	Proprietors of superiority	32
	Life-renters of superiority	73

In Dumbarton, the number of votes, according to the same authority, is 69; of these, one individual commands 14, and three other individuals have 22; so that four persons, by combining their forces, can, at any time carry the election, and nearly all these are paper votes. Votes are fabricated by splitting valuations; thus, he who has £4,000, Scotch, of valued rent, can, if he please, have ten votes, and that without the slightest risk; he can even insert a clause of return in the deed of transfer, and when the purpose of the election has been served, demand back the freehold which had been temporarily alienated. Freeholds are also formed by aggregation. In the contest between the Hamilton and Douglas families, in 1818, parcels of superiority so small as £10, Scotch, were bought up, and out of a requisite number

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of these fractions was formed one entire freeholder, who could not, without committing a trespass, put his foot upon one of the parcels of ground from which his right was derived.

There are "influences" in the Scotch counties, as in the English—with this difference, that in England the possession of property in the county is essential, while in Scotland, superiority does as well. The duke of Montrose, who may be said to have nominated the present member for Dumbarton, has very little property in that county. In Lanarkshire, again, where the Hamiltons did not return the last member, merely because they had not sir R. Archibald to return, the influence is partly territorial, and partly of superiority. In the great number of instances it is of this mixed character. In this way, the duke of Argyle, and his cousin Campbell of Shawfield, influence Argyle; the earl of Hopetoun, Linlithgow; the duke of Buccleugh, Selkirk, Peebles, Roxburgh, and Dumfries; Mr. Maule, Forfar; The young duke of Buccleugh is a popular landlord in his vast demesnes, and most of the tenants have grown gray and warm under the fostering care of his family. Bating the local and limited influence of a few such men, nearly all the burghs, and with a few exceptions, the whole of the counties of Scotland, belong to the *ministry*, rather than to any individuals. The system is one of open and undisguised bribery; but it it is bribery, not of money, solely, or even chiefly: it comes in the shape of good appointments. So steadily and universally has this influence been acted upon, that, up to the period when sir R. Peel took upon himself the patronage of Scotland, there was not an officer of any description in that kingdom who did not derive his honours and emoluments from his own, or his friends' election influence in some town council, or county.

The constitutions, or *sets*, as they are called, of the

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Scottish burghs, are of endless variety; but all of them agree in one particular—the community has no share in them. The corporation or council consists, in the majority of instances, of two parts, a merchant-council, and a trades-council. The merchant-council is always the most numerous of the two, and is invariably, except in the instance of Montrose, self-elected; in a few cases there is a rotation of members, in others the members are capable of indefinite re-election; in one or two they are elected for life. The trades-council are the representatives of the actual operative craftsmen of the burgh, who are freemen by apprenticeship, marriage, or purchase. In a few burghs, they are chosen without the intervention of the merchants, but in most cases the trades are not indulged in so dangerous an exercise of liberty. The twelve or twenty freemen of each trade meet at the time appointed for choosing their deacon or president; they select three or six of their number, whose names are sent up to the merchant-council for their approbation; from this list, the *long-leet*, the merchant-council strike off all the independent or troublesome fellows;—thus curtailed of its fair proportion, it is sent down again, and out of this *short-leet*, the representative of the trades is formally chosen. In the process of making members of parliament, the council, thus constituted, form electoral colleges; there is thus a third class required; each of the councils elect a delegate, and the four or five delegates assembled in the presiding burgh, elect the member: the obvious consequences of this treble process is, that a candidate may have a large majority of suffrages in his favor, yet fail of his election. Thus, suppose the case of four burghs, each of whose councils contains twenty members, he who can secure twenty-two out of the eighty, provided he can obtain the support of the presiding burgh, will be returned in opposition to him who has the remaining fifty-eight. There is another consequence equally injuri-

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ous—a small or corrupt burgh may neutralize the efforts at independence of the largest and most respectable. Glasgow contains about 150,000 inhabitants, and, for the most part, a highly respectable municipality; but that great city has no more political power with its 150,000, than Rutherglen, one of its pitiful suburbs, has with its 4,000.

The trades part of the Scottish corporations being comparatively open, is that which a candidate commonly assails. Generally speaking, however, unless favoured by some accidental division on the merchant side, any attempt to open a Scotch burgh is useless. The merchant side is generally managed by some resident jobber, who is sometimes not even a member of the body he controls; but who, having obtained a majority, takes care to retain it, by excluding from the council all those who are likely to endanger his power. In Lochmaben there are only three persons resident capable of filling the office of councillor, and they are—a bankrupt spirit-dealer, and a couple of publicans. The writer recollects the duties of a representative of the weavers of a Scotch burgh being performed, for seven successive years, by a man who was actually mad, during the whole period. This man was one of sir George Warrender's constituents, and perhaps it was from his recollections of so enlightened a specimen of the present system, that sir George was lately led to declare that the *intelligence* of Scotland was averse from any change in it. From our description of the Scotch burghs, our readers may judge of the hardihood of sir W. Dundas's averment, that he had a constituency of some thousands, the plain fact being, that he represents nineteen self-elected persons, the merchant councillors of Edinburgh, the majority of whose names are not known to one in fifty of their fellow-citizens*!

* Spectator.

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It is impossible to imagine that, with such a preponderance of one interest as the present state of the representation gives, the general welfare of the country should be protected and increased. The slightest acquaintance with the history of England, will enable any one to discover, that for above a century, national legislation has continually aimed at aggrandizing the aristocracy; while the people, the rightful possessors of the soil, and the real dignity of the country, have gradually declined, till they are now reduced to a state far worse than feudal vassalage. During the time that this work has been passing through the press, however, public opinion has achieved a mighty change in the representative system, in respect to those glaring and grievous evils to which we have above called the reader's attention. The administration of earl Grey, by the introduction of a well-timed and liberal measure of reform, and by the firmness with which it has declared its determination to resist the opposition of the boroughmongering faction to its wholesome and now indispensable provisions, has won for itself an imperishable fame in the records of history. Though not with all who now exercise it, from any right of voting perfect or complete, their plan lays a wide and firm basis for an equitable constitution of the house of commons, and through this, for the introduction of every necessary measure of national amelioration.

It would be unpardonable, in a sketch of the representative history of England, to omit an analysis of this important measure; we shall therefore close our Introduction to the PEOPLE'S BOOK, with an abridgment of the reform bills, for amending the representation in England and Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and such tables as may be necessary to render the changes they propose clearly understood.

THE ENGLISH BILL, in the preamble, sets forth the expediency of correcting five abuses in the representa-

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tion—viz to diminish the expense of elections—to disfranchise many inconsiderable boroughs, wholly or partially—to transfer the right of representation to large populous towns—to increase the number of knights of the shire—and to enlarge the constituency, by the extension of the elective franchise.

The first two clauses of the bill, go to remedy the second abuse, by totally disfranchising 60 boroughs, and partially, 46. The names of these are given in the schedules (A.) (B.), pp. 53, 54.

The third clause, extends the right of returning each 2 members, to 13 towns or boroughs*, and of returning each 1 member, to 18 new boroughs†. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis are henceforth to return only 2 members. In like manner, Portsmouth, Rochester, and Kingston-upon-Hull, have respectively annexed to them Portsea, Chatham, Stroud, and Sculcoates, and are also to return each 2 members‡. Each of the 39 places named in schedule (F.), are to have a share in the election of burgesses, for the shire, town, or borough, to which such place is annexed in the said schedule (F.); the votes of the electors in such places are to be taken where they reside, and the poll to be transmitted by the presiding officers in each, to the returning officer of the shire, town, or borough. The towns of Swansea, Laugharne, Neath, Aberavon, and Kenfig, are to be taken as one borough, and return one member—the electors of those places to vote where they reside, and the poll to be transmitted to the Portreeve of Swansea. In the schedules (C.) (D.) (E.) the proper returning officers are pointed out, as empowered by the act.

No person is to vote at the election of a knight of the shire, in respect of any house, by the occupa-

* Schedule (C), p. liv. † Schedule (D), p. lvi.
‡ Schedule (E), p. lvii.

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tion of which he shall be entitled to vote for a city or borough. Every male person of full age, holding lands or tenements, by any customary tenure of at least the value of 10*l.* above reprises—or leasing lands, for any term not less than 21 years, at a yearly rent of 50*l.*—is to have a right to vote for knights of the shire, —but no leaseholder is to enjoy such right by virtue of any lease *renewable every year*, or which shall have been *renewed within two years* preceding the registration. The elective franchise will continue with all who now exercise it, from any right of voting at the election of knights of the shire.

Persons owning or holding any lands or tenements, within cities or towns, being counties of themselves, (described in schedule G.), which would, if in a county, not being a city or town which is a county of itself—entitle the owner or holder to vote, are to be entitled to vote for knights of the shires named in the above schedule. Electors must have been possessed of the lands or tenements, by virtue of which they vote, at least 30 days, previous to the registration preceding the election The places named in the counties in schedule (H.) are to send four members, instead of two, and Yorkshire to return 6; viz. two to represent each of its three ridings, as if they were separate counties. Lincoln is to return 4; two for the parts of Lindsey, and two for Hofland, and Kestoven together. All electors in the Isle of Wight, are to vote in the election of one member for the said isle, instead of voting for Southampton.

A committee of the lords of the privy council, appointed by the king, within *three months* of the passing of this act, is to determine how the counties in schedule (H.) are to be divided, and to have the power of uniting and incorporating with any county or division, any outlying portions of any other county which may be situated within the former, and report to his majesty in council,

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who will issue his proclamation, making known the report of the committee. Such reports to be laid before both houses of parliament. In the counties, so divided and incorporated, the electors shall vote for that division only in which their property lies; in respect of which they may claim to vote—not for the county at large. Another committee of the privy council are to effect the like union and incorporation, between the towns and boroughs, having the right of election, and the parishes and townships adjoining them.

In the elections for cities and boroughs, every male person not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall have occupied for six months, previous to the settlement of the registers, any house within such cities and boroughs, of the clear yearly rent of 10*l.*, or which shall have been for the same time rated to the relief of the poor, or assessed at a sum not less than 10*l.* is to have the right to vote, if he shall have been duly registered. The present electors who vote by virtue of any corporate right, or the ownership or occupation of any tenement, are to retain the right of suffrage for their lives, if they have owned and occupied six months previous to the registration, and are duly registered.

The churchwardens and overseers of every parish and township, are, at certain periods, in the present and each subsequent year, to affix to the doors of all the churches and chapels in their respective parishes, on three Sundays, lists of all those who will be qualified to vote. And on the Monday following, the returning officers are to hear objections to the insertion or omission of the names in the lists, and to expunge, or insert, to the best of their judgment. With respect to the elections for counties, the overseers and churchwardens of each parish are directed to make out similar lists of the qualified freeholders, copyholders, and leaseholders, to be so affixed on the first three Sundays in September, and on the 25th they are to forward such lists to the high

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constables of the hundreds, to be by them transmitted to the clerk of the peace for the county.

The lists are to be subsequently revised, and finally determined, by barristers appointed, one for each county, by the judges of assize in the summer circuit, subject to the approbation of the lord chancellor, or commissioners of the great seal. The decisions are to be given in the open court.

In all contested elections (except those for counties) the poll is to commence on the day of nomination, or on the following day, or at the latest on the third day. No polling is to continue for longer than seven hours on the first, or for eight, on the second day; and its final state must be declared by two o'clock in the afternoon of the third day, when the returning officer must return the successful candidates. In the elections for counties, where a poll is demanded, it must commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon of the next day but one after the nomination, in the several places to be appointed by the magistrates who are to determine the same at the quarter sessions, and the final state of the poll is to be declared at noon on the sixth day after the nomination. The places appointed for taking the poll are not to exceed fifteen, and no elector is to travel more than fifteen miles from the property by which he claims to vote. The places first appointed for taking the poll may be changed by the magistrates at the end of two years, the same being made public.

All elections for cities and boroughs in England are to be conducted in *some one place*, and under the superintendence of the same returning officer or officers, who will have different districts; so that not more than 600 electors shall be polled at one booth. The number of hours for taking the poll is the same as for cities and boroughs.

The provisions of the act are not to extend to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

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SCHEDULES.

(A.)

Boroughs to be disfranchised.

The franchise has been given to the boroughs thus distinguished, (*) in comparatively modern times.

	Population in 1821.		Population in 1821.
*Aldborough (York)	484	Malmesbury	1322
*Aldeburgh (Suffolk)	1212	Midhurst	1335
Appleby	824	Milborne Port	1440
Bedwin	1928	*Minehead	1239
*Beeralston	——	*Newport (Cornwall)	977
*Bishop's Castle	1616	*Newton (Lancashire)	1643
Bletchingley	1187	*Newton (Isle of Wt.)	767
*Boroughbridge	860	Okehampton	1907
*Bossiney	877	Orford	1119
*Brackley	1851	Petersfield	1445
Bramber	98	Plympton	762
Buckingham	1495	Queenborough	881
*Callington	1321	Riegate	1328
*Camelford	1256	Romney	962
*Castle Rising	343	*St. Mawe's	1648
*Corfe Castle	1465	*St. Michael's (Cornw.)	1893
Dunwich	200	*Saltash	1548
*Eye	1882	Old Sarum	——
*Fowey	1455	Seaford	1047
Gatton	135	Steyning	1324
*Haslemere	887	*Stockbridge	715
Hedon	902	Tregony	1035
Heytesbury	1329	Wareham	1931
*Higham Ferrars	877	Wendover	1602
Hindon	830	Weobly	739
Ilchester	802	*Whitechurch	1434
*East Looe	770	Winchelsea	817
*West Looe	539	Woodstock	1455
Lestwithiel	933	Wotton Bassett	1701
Ludgershall	477	Yarmouth	564

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(B.)

Boroughs to return, in future, only one member.

	Population in 1821.		Population in 1821.
Amersham	2612	*Lymington	3164
Arundel	2511	Maldon	3198
Ashburton	3403	Marlborough	3038
Bewdley	3725	Marlow	2532
Bodmin	2902	*Morpeth	3415
Bridport	3742	Northallerton	2626
Chippenham	3201	*Penryn	2933
*Clitheroe	3213	*Richmond	3546
Cockermouth	3790	Rye	3599
Dorchester	2743	*St. Germains	2404
Downton	3114	*St. Ives	3526
Droitwich	2176	Sandwich	2912
Evesham	3487	*Sudbury	3950
Grimsby	3064	Shaftesbury	2993
East Grimstead	3153	*Tamworth	2574
Guilford	3161	Thetford	2922
Helston	2671	Thirsk	2533
Honiton	3296	Totness	2128
Huntingdon	2806	Truro	2712
Hythe	2181	Wallingford	2093
Launceston	2183	Westbury	2117
Leominster	3651	Wilton	2058
Liskeard	2423	Wycombe	2468
Lyme Regis	2269		

.....

(C.)

Towns now unrepresented to send two members.

Places.	Popula.	Parish or Township.	Returning Officer.
Manchester....	133788	Township of Manchester	Borough-reeve of Manches-ter
		Township of Salford	
		Townships of—	
		Chorlton Row	
		Ardwicke	
		Beswick	
		Hulme	
		Cheetham and	
		Pendleton, Lancashire	

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Places.	Popula.	Parish or Township.	Returning Officer.
Birmingham ...	104605	Parishes of— St. Philip and St. Mary. in Birmingham Aston, Warwickshire	2 Bailiffs of Birmingham.
Leeds	86746	The borough and liberty of Leeds, Yorkshire	Mayor of Leeds.
Halifax.....	12628	Parish of Halifax, York.	....
Greenwich.....	56582	Parishes of— Greenwich St. Nicholas and St. Paul, Deptford Woolwich, Kent	....
Sheffield.....	62105	Townships of— Sheffield Ecclesha‌ll Brightside Nether Hallum Upper Hallum Attercliffe, Yorkshire	Master Cutler.
Sunderland	33911	Parishes of— Sunderland Bishopwearmouth, and Monkswearmouth Durham	....
Devonport.....	39626	Town of Devonport Parish of Stoke Damerel, and township of Stonehouse, Devon	....
Wolverhampton.	66036	Parishes of— Wolverhampton Bilston, and Sedgley, Staffordshire	Constable of Wolverhampton.
Tower Hamlets.		Parishes of the Tower Division, Ossulston Hundred, Middlesex	
Finsbury.....		Parishes of the Finsbury Division, Ossulston Hundred, Middlesex	....
		Parishes of— St. Andrew, Holborn, and	

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Places.	Popula.	Parish or Township.	Returning Officer.
Finsbury.....		St. George the Martyr Saffron Hill Hatton Garden Ely-rents St. George-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury, Middlesex	....
Marylebone....		Parishes of— St. Marylebone St. Pancras, and Paddington Middlesex	....
Lambeth.....	57638	St. Mary, Lambeth St. Mary, Newington Bermondsey Rotherhithe Surrey	....

.....

(D.)

Towns now unrepresented to send one member.

Borough.	Popula.	Parish or Township.	Returning Officer.
Brighthelmstone	26429	Parish of Brighthelmstone Sussex	Constable
Bolton-le-Moor.	22037	Township of Great and Little Bolton, Lancashire	Constables
Blackburn.....	21940	Parish of Blackburn, Lancashire	—
Bradford.....		Parish of Bradford, Yorkshire	—
Cheltenham....	13396	Town of Cheltenham, Glocestershire	—
Dudley.....	18211	Parishes of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Dudley, Worcestershire	—
Frome.....	12411	Town of Frome, Somersetshire	Constables of Manor
Gateshead.....	11767	Parish of Gateshead, Durham	—

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Boroughs.	Popula	Parish or Township.	Returning Officer.
Huddersfield...	20000	Parish of Huddersfield, Yorkshire	—
Kidderminster..	10709	Town of Kidderminster, Worcestershire	Bailiff
Kendal.....	8000	Town of Kendal, Westmorland	Mayor
Macclesfield ...	17745	Town of Macclesfield, Cheshire	Mayor
Stockport	10100	Town of Stockport, Lancashire	High Constable
South Shields..	14000	The town of South Shields, Township of Westoe, county of Durham	—
Tynemouth....	11000	Parish of Tynemouth, Township of North Shields, Northumberland	—
Warrington....	10000	Town of Warrington, Lancashire	—
Whitehaven....	16000	Town of Whitehaven, Town and Parish of Workington, Parish of Harrington, Cumberland	—
Walsall.....		Borough and Foreign of Walsall	Mayor

.....

(E.)

Places to return two members.

Cities and Boroughs.	*Places annexed.*
Portsmouth.....	Portsea, county of Southampton.
Rochester.....	Chatham and Stroud, Kent.
Kingston-upon-Hull.....	Sculcoates, Yorkshire.

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(F.)

Welsh Towns added to other Shire-towns or Boroughs.

Places sharing in the Election of Burgesses.	Shire, Town or Principal Borough.	County in which such Boroughs are situated.
Holyhead	Beaumorris	Anglesey.
Aberystwith, Lampeter, and Adpar	Cardigan	Cardigan.
Llanelly	Caermarthen	Caermarthen.
Pwllhell, Newin, Conway, Bangor	Caernarvon	Caernarvon.
Ruthin, Holt, Wrexham	Denbigh	Denbigh.
Ryddlan, Overton, Carwis, Caergonly, Holywell, Mold	Flint	Flint.
Llandaff, Cowbridge, Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare, Llantrissent	Cardiff	Glamorgan.
Llanidloes, Welsh Pool, Machynleth, Llanfylling, Newtown	Montgomery	Montgomery.
Narbeth, St. David's, Fishguard, Milford Haven	Haverfordwest	Pembroke.
Tenby, Wiston	Pembroke	Pembroke.
Knighton, Ryador, Kevinleece, Knucklass, Presteigne	Radnor	Radnor.

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(G.)

Cities and Towns, being Counties in themselves, to vote in adjacent Counties.

Counties of Cities or Towns.	Counties for which the Freeholders Copyholders, and Leaseholders are to vote.
Bristol	Somerset.
Canterbury	Kent.
Chester	Cheshire.
Coventry	Warwick.
Exeter	Devon.
Gloucester	Gloucestershire.
Kingston-upon-Hull	Yorkshire, East Riding.
Lichfield	Staffordshire.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Northumberland.
Norwich	Norfolk.
Nottingham	Nottinghamshire.
Poole	Dorset.
Southampton	Southampton.
Worcester	Worcestershire.
York	Yorkshire, North Riding.

.....

(H.)

Counties to return each four members.

Chester	Lancaster	Southampton
Cornwall	Leicester	Stafford
Cumberland	Norfolk	Suffolk
Derby	Northampton	Surrey
Devon	Northumberland	Sussex
Durham	Nottingham	Warwick
Essex	Salop	Wilts
Gloucester	Somerset	Worcester
Kent		

.....

Subsequently to the printing of the bill, ministers have announced a few alterations in the details, which it is here necessary to explain, though they do not in any material degree affect the principle of the measure.

Boroughs to be withdrawn from schedule (A) and be placed in schedule (B).

Aldborough (York)	Malmesbury	Reigate
Buckingham	Okehampton	

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Boroughs to be withdrawn from schedule (B.) and to return their present number of members.

Leominster	Truro
Morpeth	Westbury
Northallerton	Wycombe
Tamworth	

Towns to be placed in schedule (D.), to have one member.

Bury	Stoke-upon-Trent
Halifax, taken from schedule (C.)	Salford
Oldham	Wakefield
Rochdale	Whitby

Counties to have an additional member each, undivided.

Berks	Glamorgan
Bucks	Hereford
Cambridge	Oxon
Dorset	

The number of voters is to be slightly increased. The franchise is to be extended to all persons in counties, holding leases at 10*l.* per annum, for 60 years, and in boroughs or towns it is to be extended to those who are now articled to freemen, and to the sons of freemen, born before the passing of the bill, on their coming of age.

.....

The IRISH BILL is similar, in its provisions, to that of England. In cities, towns, or boroughs, 10*l.* freeholders, and 50*l.* leaseholders, will be entitled to vote, as will also those who pay a *bona fide* rent of 10*l.*, subject to the same mode of registration as prescribed for the same class of electors in England. Leaseholders of twenty-one years, paying a rent of 50*l.*, will qualify for a vote for county members*. The details, as to the division of counties, the functions of inspecting barristers, and the times and modes of election, resemble those prescribed by the English

* The holding for 21 years is not required in Ireland.

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bill. Present voters will retain the franchise for the period of their natural lives. The cities of Limerick, Waterford, Belfast, the town of Galway, and the University of Dublin, will each send an extra member. Clergymen are prohibited from voting at any elections, unless qualified by the registration prescribed by the act; and a county qualification is allowed from two freehold estates, which shall amount to the sum of 10*l.* The members of the Dublin University, who have obtained a scholarship, and entered their names on the books, up to the period of election, will also be entitled to vote.

The SCOTCH BILL, in the former part, enacts, that several of the district burghs shall be merged into the counties to which they respectively belong, and that the right of voting shall no longer be confined to town councils, but shall be exercised by the voters directly. The qualification for voters is the same as in England, with the exception, that the leasehold property must be held for a term of *nineteen* instead of *twenty-one* years, as in this country. The individual qualification for voting is, however, to be determined by the sheriff of the county, instead of by a barrister. Where a farm shall be let to two or more joint tenants, for more than 100*l.* a year, two of the tenants are to have the right of voting.

.....

Although we attach little or no importance to ancient usage, where such usage is not consonant to the circumstances of the present times, it is well, when we can do so, to meet those enemies of reform, who resist it on the ground of its revolutionary character, on their own terms. For the purpose, then, of shewing the groundlessness and absurdity of the cry, that the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs involves a dangerous attack on the venerable pillars and bulwarks of the constitution, we have distinguished, in the preceding tables, such of those boroughs as have been enfranchised between the period of the re-

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formation and the revolution—a date comparatively modern, compared with the calling of parliaments. The result will shew, that, out of 167 members to be cut off, 122 are of recent creation, and have been called into being as state purposes required.

In like manner, between 70 and 80 places have, at various former times, been disfranchised, among which are Manchester, Greenwich, Kidderminster, and others now to be restored. The following table of these towns is compiled from Oldfield's Representative History :—

Counties.	*Towns.*	*Enfranchised.*	*Disfranchised.*
Bedfordshire	Dunstable	4 Edward II.	
Berkshire	Newberry	30 Edward I.	11 Edward III.
Cambridge	Ely	23 Edward I.	27 Edward III.
	Wisbeach		
Cornwall	Pelurun	11 Edward III.	12 Edward III.
Cumberland	Egremont	23 Edward I.	24 Edward III.
Devonshire	Brandensham	6 Edward II.	7 Edward III.
	Crediton	35 Edward I.	36 Edward I.
	Exmouth	14 Edward III.	15 Edward III.
	Tremington	6 Edward III.	7 Edward III.
	Liddeford	28 Edward I.	30 Edward I.
	Modbury	34 Edward I.	35 Edward I.
	South Malton	30 Edward I.	31 Edward I.
	Teignmouth	14 Edward III.	15 Edward III.
	Torrington	23 Edward I.	48 Edward III.
Dorsetshire	Blandford	Ditto	22 Edward III.
	Winborn		
	Sherborn	11 Edward III.	12 Edward III.
	Milton		
	Bere Regis		
Essex	Chelmsford	11 Edward III.	Ditto
Hampshire	Alresford	23 Edward I.	35 Edward I.
	Alton	Ditto	4Edward I.
	Basingstoke	Ditto	Ditto
	Fareham	34 Edward I.	36 Edward I.
	Oldham	28 Edward I.	Ditto
	Overton	23 Edward I.	2 Edward II.
Herefordshire	Bromyard	33 Edward I.	34 Edward I.
	Ledbury	11 Edward III.	15 Edward III.
	Ross	4 Edward II.	Ditto

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Hertfordshire	Berkhamstead	11 Edward III.	15 Edward III.
	Storteford	4 Edward II.	Ditto
Kent	Greenwich	4 & 5 Ph. & M.	6 Ph. & M.
	Tunbridge	23 Edward I.	24 Edward I.
Lancashire	Manchester	Commonwealth	
Leicestershire	Melt. Mowbray	11 Edward III.	12 Edward III.
Lincolnshire	Spalding	Ditto	Ditto
	Waynfleet	Ditto	Ditto
Northumberl.	Bamberg	23 Edward I.	24 Edward I.
	Corbrigg	Ditto	Ditto
Oxfordshire	Burford	34 Edward I.	35 Edward I.
	Chipg. Norton	28 Edward I.	34 Edward I.
	Doddington	38 Edward I.	Ditto
	Whitney	33 Edward I.	5 Edward III.
Somersetshire.	Oxbridge	23 Edward I.	17 Edward III.
	Chard	28 Edward I.	3 Edward III.
	Dunster	34 Edward III.	35 Edward III.
	Glastonbury	12 Edward III.	13 Edward III.
	Langport	33 Edward I.	36 Edward I.
	Montacute	Ditto	34 Edward I.
	Stoke Curey	34 Edward III.	35 Edward III.
	Watchet	30 Edward I.	31 Edward I.
	Were	34 Edward I	36 Edward I.
Surrey	Farnham	4 Edward I.	38 Henry VI.
	Kingst. on Tha.	Ditto	47 Edward III.
Wiltshire	Bradford	23 Edward I.	24 Edward I.
	Mere	Ditto	1 Edward II.
	Highworth	26 Edward I.	27, Edward IV.
Worcestershire	Bromgrove	23 Edward I.	24 Edward I.
	Dudley	Ditto	Ditto
	Kidderminster	Ditto	Ditto
	Pershore	Ditto	Ditto
Yorkshire	Doncaster	Ditto	24 Edward I.
	Jervale	Ditto	Ditto
	Pickering	Ditto	Ditto
	Ravenser	33 Edward I.	12 Edward III.
	Tykhull	23 Edward I.	24 Edward I.
	Halifax	Commonwealth	
	Whitby	Ditto	
	Leeds	Ditto	

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ERRATA.

Page 49,	line 7,	for	6,000*l.* read	3,0000*l.*
ib.	9, —		4,000*l.* —	2,835*l.*
ib.	10, —		1,600*l.* —	1,105*l.*
ib.	11, —	no sum	specified —	1,548*l.*
50,	30, —		6,000*l.* —	3,125*l.*
55,	18, —		a son —	two cousins
58,	1, —		6,500*l.* —	2,800*l.*
59,	24, —		2,160*l.* —	1,450*l.*
61,	23, —		2,000*l.* —	1,600*l.*
64,	17, —		900*l.* —	1,258*l.*
91,	30, —		30,000*l.* —	20,000*l.*
93,	20, —		6,000*l.* —	4,681*l.*
95,	3 lines from bottom		1784*l.* —	2,784*l.*

Page 275, line 11, column 1, for *he has not always voted well*, read *he has not* only *always voted well.*

Page 361, *dele* lines 7 and 8, column 2.

336, last line, column 1, *add* in-law to.

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THE

PEOPLE'S BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

SECT. I.

MAGNA CHARTA,

OR THE GREAT CHARTER OF LIBERTIES.

Granted by King John, June 19, 1216, *at Runnemede, between Staines and Windsor.*

THE freedom of elections was secured to the clergy: the former charter of the king was confirmed, by which the necessity of a royal *conge-d'elire* and confirmation was superseded; all check upon appeals to Rome was removed, by the allowance granted every man to depart the kingdom at pleasure; and the fines to be imposed on the clergy for any offence, were ordained to be proportional to their lay estates, not to their ecclesiastical benefices.

The privileges granted to the barons, were either abatements in the rigour of the feudal law, or determinations in points which had been left by that law, or had become, by practice, arbitrary and ambiguous.

The reliefs of heirs succeeding to a military fee were ascertained; an earl's and baron's at a hundred marks, a knight's at a hundred shillings. It was ordained by the charter, that if the heir be a minor, he shall, immediately upon his majority, enter upon his estate, without paying any relief.

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The king shall not sell his wardship; he shall levy only reasonable profits upon the estate, without committing waste, or hurting the property; he shall uphold the castles, houses, mills, parks, and ponds; and if he commit the guardianship of the estate to the sheriff or any other, he shall previously oblige them to find security to the same purpose.

During the minority of a baron, while his lands are in wardship, and are not in his own possession, no debt which he owes to the Jews shall bear any interest.

Heirs shall be married without disparagement; and before the marriage be contracted, the nearest relations of the person shall be informed of it.

A widow, without paying any relief, shall enter upon her dower, the third part of her husband's rents: she shall not be compelled to marry so long as she chooses to continue single; she shall only give security never to marry without her lord's consent.

The king shall claim the wardship of any minor who holds lands by military tenure of a baron, on pretence that he also holds lands of the crown by soccage or any other tenure.

Scutages shall be estimated at the same rate as in the time of Henry I.; and no scutage or aid, except in the three general feudal cases (the king's captivity, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marrying of his eldest daughter) shall be imposed, but by the great council of the kingdom.

The prelates, earls, and great barons, shall be called to this great council, each by a particular writ; the lesser barons, by a general summons of the sheriff.

The king shall not seize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron possess as many goods and chattels as are sufficient to discharge the debt.

No man shall be obliged to perform more service for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure.

No governor or constable of a castle shall oblige any knight to give money for castle-guard, if the knight be willing to perform the service in person, or by another able bodied

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man; and if the knight be in the field himself, by the king's command, he shall be exempted from all other service of this nature.

No vassal shall be allowed to sell so much of his land as to incapacitate himself from performing his service to his lord.

With regard to the common people, it was ordained, that all the privileges and immunities above mentioned, granted to the barons against the king, should be extended by the barons to their inferior vassals. The king bound himself not to grant any writ, empowering a baron to levy aid from his vassals, except in the three feudal cases.

One weight and one measure shall be established throughout the kingdom. Merchants shall be allowed to transact all business, without being exposed to any arbitrary tolls and impositions; they and ALL FREE MEN SHALL be ALLOWED to GO OUT OF THE KINGDOM and RETURN to it at PLEASURE.

London, and all cities, and burghs, shall preserve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free custom; aids shall not be required of them but by the consent of the great council.

No towns or individuals shall be obliged to make or support bridges, but by ancient custom.

The goods of every freeman shall be disposed of according to his will. If he die intestate, his heirs shall succeed to them. No officer of the crown shall take any horses, carts, or wood, without the consent of the owner.

The king's court of justice shall be stationary, and shall no longer follow his person; they shall be open to every one; and JUSTICE SHALL NO LONGER BE SOLD, REFUSED, or DELAYED, by them. Circuits shall be regularly held every year; the inferior tribunals of justice, the county-court, sheriff's-turn, and court-leet, shall meet at their appointed time and place.

The sheriffs shall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown; and shall not put any person upon his trial, from rumour or suspicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witnesses.

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No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who suffered otherwise, in this or the two former reigns, shall be restored to their rights and possessions. Every freeman shall be fined in proportion to his fault; and no fine shall be levied on him to his utter ruin; even a villain, or rustic, shall not, by any fine, be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and implements of husbandry.

SECT. II.

BILL OF RIGHTS,

Granted on Petitions by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, by Charles I. June 2, 1628.

1. WHEREAS is declared and enacted by a statute, made in the time of the reign of king Edward I, commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonality of this realm: and by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge; by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, *that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by* COMMON CONSENT *in parliament.*

2. Yet, nevertheless, of late divers commissions, di-

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rected to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy-council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry otherways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissions for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

3. And whereas also, by the statute called *The Great Charter of the Liberties of England*, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken and imprisoned, nor be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, nor be outlawed or exiled, nor in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

4. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted by authority of parliament, That no man, of what estate or condition that he may be, should be put out of his land and tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

5. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned, without any cause showed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your Majesty's writ of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to

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certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council; and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to the law.

6. And whereas, of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

7. And whereas, also, by authority of parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the *Great Charter* and law of the land: and by the said *Great Charter*, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament; and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions under your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons having been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

8. By pretext whereof, some of your majesty's sub-

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jects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

9. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or foreborne to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all of like nature, are wholly and directly con rary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

10. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or to be confined; or otherwise molested or disquieted, concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that people may not be so burdened in time to come: and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and

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statutes of this realm; and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence of example; and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the farther comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty and the prosperity of this kingdom.

SECT. III.

HABEAS CORPUS,

For the better securing the liberty of the Subject and for preventing Imprisonment beyond the Seas. Passed in the Reign of Charles II., 1679.

It was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the jailer was directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ has its name) and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the jail lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so proportionally for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

SECT. IV.

ACT OF SETTLEMENT,

For the Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. Passed 12th and 13th William III.

1. That whereas it is requisite and necessary that some further provisions be made for securing our religion, laws,

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and liberties, from and after the death of his majesty and the princess Anne of Denmark, and in default of issue of the body of the said princess, and of his majesty respectively; be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same.

2. That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown, shall join in communion with the church of England, as by law established.

3. That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament.

4. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament.

5. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom which are properly cognizable in the privy-council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy-council as shall advise and consent to the same.

6. That after the said limitation shall take effect, as aforesaid, NO PERSON BORN OUT OF THE KINGDOMS of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) SHALL BE CAPABLE to be of the PRIVY-COUNCIL, or a member of either HOUSE of PARLIAMENT, or to enjoy ANY OFFICE or PLACE of TRUST, EITHER CIVIL or MILITARY, or have any GRANT of LANDS,

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TENEMENTS OR HEREDITAMENTS, from the crown to himself or to any other or others, in trust for him.

7 THAT NO PERSON WHO HAS AN OFFICE OR PLACE OF PROFIT UNDER THE KING, OR WHO RECEIVES A PENSION FROM THE CROWN, SHALL BE CAPABLE OF SERVING AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

8. That after the said limitations shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quandiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

9. That no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament.

10. And whereas the laws of England are the birth-right of the people thereof, and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm, ought to administer the government of the same according to the laws, and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same; the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do therefore humbly pray, that all the laws and statutes of this realm, for securing the established religion, and the rights and liberties of the people thereof, and all other laws and statutes of the same now in force, may be ratified and confirmed; and the same are by his majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, and by authority of the same, ratified and confirmed accordingly.

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CHAPTER II.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SECT. I.

Authentic Copy of a Petition praying for a Reform in Parliament, presented to the House of Commons by CHARLES GREY, *Esq. on Monday, 6th May* 1793; *and signed only by the Members of the Society of the Friends of the People, Associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.*

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

Sheweth,

THAT by the form and spirit of the British constitution, the king is vested with the sole executive power.

That the house of lords consists of lords spiritual and temporal, deriving their titles and consequence either from the crown, or from hereditary privileges.

That these two powers, if they acted without controul, would form either a despotic monarchy, or a dangerous oligarchy.

That the wisdom of our ancestors hath contrived, that these authorities may be rendered not only harmless, but beneficial, and be exercised for the security and happiness of the people.

That this security and happiness are to be looked for in the introduction of a third estate, distinct from, and a check upon the other two branches of the legislature; created by, representing, and responsible to the people themselves.

That so much depending upon the preservation of this third estate, in such its constitutional purity and strength, your petitioners are reasonably jealous of whatever may appear to vitiate the one, or to impair the other.

That at the present day the house of commons does not

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fully and fairly represent the people of England, which, consistently with what your petitioners conceive to be the principles of the constitution, they consider a grievance, and therefore, with all becoming respect, lay their complaints before your honourable house.

That though the terms in which your petitioners state their grievance may be looked upon as strong, yet your honourable house is entreated to believe that no expression is made use of for the purpose of offence.

Your petitioners in affirming that your honourable house is not an adequate representation of the people of England, do but state a fact, which, if the word "Representation" be accepted in its fair and obvious sense, they are ready to prove, and which they think detrimental to their interests, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution,

How far this inadequate representation is prejudical to their interests, your petitioners apprehend they may be allowed to decide for themselves; but how far it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution, they refer to the consideration of your honourable house.

If your honourable house shall *be pleased to determine* that the people of England OUGHT NOT to be fully REPRESENTED, your petitioners pray that such your determination may be made known, to the end that the people may be apprised of their real situation; but if your honourable house shall conceive that the people are already fully represented, then your petitioners beg leave to call your attention to the following facts:

Your petitioners complain, that the number of representatives assigned to the different counties is grossly disproportioned to their comparative extent, population, and trade.

Your petitioners complain, that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances, committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the majority of your honourable house is elected by less than fifteen thousand electors, which even if the male

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adults in the kingdom be estimated at as low a number as three millions, is not more than the two hundredth part of the people to be represented.

Your petitioners complain, that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

Your petitioners complain, that the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in SEVEN YEARS.

Your petitioners thus distinctly state the subject-matter of their complaints, that your honourable house may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to inquire into the facts, and to apply the remedy.

For the evidence in support of the first complaint, your petitioners refer to the return book of your honourable house.—Is it fitting that Rutland and Yorkshire should bear an equal rank in the scale of county representation? or can it be right, that Cornwall alone should, by its extravagant proportion of Borough members, outnumber not only the representatives of Yorkshire and Rutland together, but of Middlesex added to them? Or, if a distinction be taken between the landed and the trading interests, must it not appear monstrous that Cornwall and Wiltshire should send more Borough members to parliament, than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire united? and that the total representation of all Scotland should but exceed by one member, the number returned for a single county in England?

The second complaint of your petitioners is founded on the unequal proportions in which the elective franchise is distributed, and in support of it—

They affirm, that seventy of your honourable members are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in burgage and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable house, to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a

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mere matter of form. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to seventy honourable members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addititon to the hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and ninety-seven honourable members so chosen, fifty-two more are returned to serve in parliament, by twenty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds two hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and forty-nine so elected, twenty more are returned to serve in Parliament by less than one hundred electors each, and ten for counties in Scotland by less than two hundred and fifty each. And this your petitioners are ready to prove, even admitting the validity of fictitous votes.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and seventy-nine so elected, thirteen districts of burghs in Scotland not containing one hundred voters each, and two districts of burghs, not containing one hundred and twenty-five each, return fifteen more honourable members. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

And in this manner, according to the present state of the representation, two hundred and ninety-four of your honourable members are chosen, and, being a majority of the entire house of commons, are enable to decide all questions in the name of the whole people of England and Scotland.

The third complaint of your petitioners is founded on the present complicated rights of voting. From the caprice

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with which they have been varied, and the obscurity in which they have become involved by time and contradictory decisions, they are become a source of infinite confusion, litigation, and expence.

Your petitioners need not tender any evidence of the inconveniences which arise from this defect in the representation, because the proof is to be found in your journals, and the minutes of the different committees who have been appointed under the 10th and 11th of the king. Your honourable house is but too well acquainted with the tedious, intricate, and expensive scenes of litigation which have been brought before you, in attempting to settle the legal import of those numerous distinctions which perplex and confound the present rights of voting. How many months of your valuable time have been wasted in listening to the wrangling of lawyers upon the various species of burgagehold, leasehold, and freehold! How many committees have been occupied in investigating the nature of scot and lot, pot-wallers, commonality, populacy, residant inhabitants, and inhabitants at large! What labour and research have been employed in endeavouring to ascertain the legal claims of borough-men, aldermen, port-men, select-men, burgesses, and council-men! And what confusion has arisen from the complicated operation of clashing charters, from freemen resident and non resident, and from the different modes of obtaining the freedom of corporations by birth, by servitude, by marriage, by redemption, by election, and by purchase! On all these points it is however needless for your petitioners to enlarge, when your honourable house recollects the following facts; namely, that since the twenty-second of December 1790, no less than twenty-one committees have been employed in deciding upon litigated rights of voting. Of these, eight were occupied with the disputes of three boroughs, and there are petitions from four places yet remaining before your honourable house, waiting for a final decision to inform the electors what their rights really are.

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But the complaint of your petitioners on the subject of the want of an uniform, and equitable principle in regulating the right of voting, extends as well as to the arbitrary manner in which some are excluded, as to the intricate qualifications by which others are admitted to the exercise of that privilege.

Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote. All Papists are excluded generally, and, by the operation of the test laws, Protestant dissenters* are deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the right of voting is confined to corporate officers alone; a deprivation the more unjustifiable, because, though considered as unworthy to vote, they are deemed capable of being elected, and may be the representatives of the very places for which they are disqualified from being the electors.

A man possessed of one thousand pounds per annum, or any other sum, arising from copyhold, leasehold for ninety-nine years, trade, property in the public funds, or even freehold in the city of London, and many other cities and towns having peculiar jurisdictions, is not thereby intitled to vote. Here again a strange distinction is taken between electing and representing, as a copyhold is a sufficient qualification to sit in your honourable house.

A man paying taxes to any amount, how great soever, for his domestic establishment, does not thereby obtain a right to vote, unless his residence be in some borough where that right is vested in the inhabitants. This exception operates in sixty places, of which twenty-eight do not contain three hundred voters each, and the number of householders in England, and Wales, (exclusive of Scotland), who pay all taxes, is seven hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred and eleven, and of householders who pay all taxes, but the

* One step has been gained in the realization of just principles, in their application to civil rights, in the repeal of the laws here referred to; but, in the case of the Catholics, it was accompanied by the unjust as well as unconstitutional act of disfranchising nearly four hundred thousand freeholders!

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house and window taxes, is two hundred and eighty-four thousand, four hundred and fifty-nine, as appears by a return made to your honourable house, in 1785; so that, even supposing the sixty places above-mentioned to contain, one with another, one thousand voters in each, there will remain nine hundred and thirty-nine thousand three hundred and seventy householders who have no voice in the representation, unless they have obtained it by accident or by purchase. Neither their contributions to the public burdens, their peaceable demeanor as good subjects, nor their general respectability and merits, as useful citizens, afford them, as the law now stands, the smallest pretensions to participate in the choice of those, who under the name of their representatives, may dispose of their fortunes and liberties.

In Scotland, the grievance arising from the nature of the rights of voting, has a different and still more intolerable operation. In that great and populous division of the kingdom, not only the great mass of the householders, but of the landholders also, are excluded from all participation in the choice of representatives. By remains of the feudal system in the counties, the vote is severed from the land, and attached to what is called the superiority. In other words, it is taken from the substance, and transferred to the shadow; because, though each of these superiorities must, with very few exceptions, arise from lands of the present annual value of four hundred pounds sterling, yet it is not necessary that the lands should do more than give a name to the superiority, the possessor of which may retain the right of voting, notwithstanding he be divested of the property. And on the other hand, great landholders have the means afforded them by the same system, of adding to their influence, without expence to themselves, by communicating to their confidential friends the privilege of electing members to serve in parliament. The process by which this operation is performed is simple. He who wishes to increase

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the number of his dependent votes, surrenders his charter to the crown, and, parcelling out his estate into as many lots of four hundred pounds per annum, as may be convenient, conveys them to such as he can confide in. To these, new charters are, upon application, granted by the crown, so as to erect each of them into a superiority, which privilege once obtained, the land itself is reconveyed to the original granter; and thus the representatives of the landed interest in Scotland may be chosen by those who have no real or beneficial interest in the land.

Such is the situation in which the counties of Scotland are placed. With respect to the burghs, every thing that bears even the semblance of popular choice, has long been done away. The election of members to serve in parliament is vested in the magistrates and town councils, who, having by various innovations, constituted themselves into self-elected bodies, instead of officers freely chosen by the inhabitants at large, have deprived the people of all participation in that privilege, the free exercise of which affords the only security they can possess for the protection of their liberties and property.

The fourth and last complaint of your petitioners is the length of the duration of parliament. Your honourable house knows, that by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom frequent parliaments ought to be held; and that the sixth of William and Mary, c. 2. (since repealed) speaking while the spirit of this revolution was yet warm, declared, that "FREQUENT and NEW PARLIAMENTS tend very much to the happy union and good agreement between king and people"; and enacted, that no parliament should last longer than THREE YEARS. Your petitioners, without presuming to add to such an authority by any observations of their own, humbly pray that parliaments may not be continued for seven years.

Your petitioners have thus laid before you the specific

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grounds of complaint, from which they conceive every evil in the representation to spring, and on which they think every abuse and inconvenience is founded.

What those abuses are, and how great that inconvenience is, it becomes your petitioners to state, as the best means of justifying their present application to your honourable house.

Your petitioners then affirm, that from the combined operation of the defects they have pointed out, arise those scenes of confusion, litigation, and expence, which so disgrace the name, and that extensive system of private patronage which is so repugnant to the spirit of free representation.

Your petitioners entreat of your honourable house, to consider the manner in which elections are conducted, and to reflect upon the extreme inconvenience to which electors are exposed, and the intolerable expence to which candidates are subjected.

Your honourable house knows that tumults, disorders, outrages, and perjury, are too often the dreadful attendants on contested elections as at this time carried on.

Your honourable house knows that polls are only taken in one fixed place for each county, city, and borough, whether the number of voters be ten or ten thousand, and whether they be resident, or dispersed over England.

Your honourable house knows that polls, however few the electors, may be by law continued for fifteen days, and even then be subjected to a scrutiny.

Your honourable house knows that the management and conduct of polls is committed to returning officers, who, from the very nature of the proceedings, must be invested with extensive and discretionary powers, and who, it appears by every volume of your journals, have but too often exercised those powers with the most gross partiality, and the most scandalous corruption.

Of elections arranged with such little regard to the

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accommodation of the parties, acknowledged to require such a length of time to complete, and trusted to the superintendance of such suspicious agents, your petitioners might easily draw out a detail of the expence. But it is unnecessary. The fact is too notorious to require proof: scarce an instance can be produced where a member has obtained a disputed seat in parliament, at a less cost than from two to five thousand pounds; particular cases are not wanting where ten times these sums have been paid, but it is sufficient for your petitioners to affirm, and to be able to prove it, if denied, that such is the expence of a contested return, that he who should become a candidate with even greater funds than the laws require him to swear to, as his qualification to sit in your honourable house, must either relinquish his pretensions on the appearance of opposition, or so reduce his fortune in the contest, that he could not take his seat without perjury.

The revision of the original polls, before the committees of your honourable house, upon appeals from the decisions of the returning officers, affords a fresh source of vexation and expence to all parties. Your honourable house knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half; and it was not till within the last two months that your honourable house had an opportunity of discovering, that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted near three years, as the representatives of the borough of Stockbridge, had procured themselves to be elected by the most scandalous bribery; and that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted during as long a period for the borough of Great Grimsby, had not been elected at all.

In truth all the mischiefs of the present system of representation, are ascertained by the difficulties which even the

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zeal and wisdom of your honourable house experiences in attending to the variety of complaints brought before you. Though your committees sit five hours every day from the time of their appointment, they generally are unable to come to a decision in less than a fortnight, and very frequently are detained from thirty to forty days. The Westminister case, in 1789, will even furnish your honourable house with an instance, where, after deliberating forty-five days, a committee gravely resolved, that, "From an attentive consideration of the circumstances relating to the case, a final decision of the business before them could not take place in the course of the session, and that not improbably the whole of the parliament (having at that time near two years longer to sit) might be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation;" and they recommended it to the petitioners, to withdraw their petition, which, after a fruitless perseverance of above three months, they were actually obliged to submit to.

Your petitioners will only upon this subject farther add, that the expense to each of the parties, who have been either plaintiff or defendant in petitions tried before your honourable house, in the present session, has, upon an average, amounted to above one hundred pounds per day; and that the attornies' bills, in one cause, the trial of which in point of form only lasted two days, and in point of fact only six hours, amounted to very near twelve hundred pounds. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

Your petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable house to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation, of which they complain, namely, the extent of PRIVATE PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE; an abuse which obviously tends to EXCLUDE the GREAT MASS of the PEOPLE from any SUBSTANTIAL INFLUENCE in the ELECTION of the HOUSE of COMMONS, and which, in its progress, threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons.

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The patronage of which your petitioners complain, is of *two* kinds: *That* which arises from the unequal distribution of the elective franchise, and the peculiar rights of voting by which certain places return members to serve in parliament; and *that* which arises from the expence attending contested elections, and the consequent degree of power acquired by wealth.

By these two means, a weight of PARLIAMENTARY INFLUENCE has been obtained by certain individuals, FORBIDDEN by the SPIRIT of the LAWS, and in its CONSEQUENCES most DANGEROUS to the LIBERTIES of the PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN.

The operation of the *first* species of patronage is direct, and subject to positive proof. EIGHTY-FOUR INDIVIDUALS do, by their OWN IMMEDIATE AUTHORITY, send ONE HUNDRED and FIFTY-SEVEN of your honourable members to parliament. And this your petitioners are ready, if the fact be disputed, to prove, and to name the members and the patrons.

The *second* species of patronage cannot be shewn with equal accuracy, though it is felt with equal force.

Your petitioners are convinced, that in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven honourable members above mentioned, one hundred and fifty more, making in the whole THREE HUNDRED and SEVEN, are returned to your honourable house, not by the collective voice of those whom they appear to represent, but BY THE RECOMMENDATION OF SEVENTY POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS, added to the eighty-four before mentioned, and making the total number of patrons altogether only ONE HUNDRED and FIFTY-FOUR, WHO RETURN A DECIDED MAJORITY OF YOUR HONOURABLE HOUSE.

If your honourable house will accept as evidence the common report and general belief of the counties, cities, and boroughs, which return the members alluded to, your petitioners are ready to name them, and to prove the fact: or if

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the members in question can be made parties to the inquiry, your petitioners will name them, and be governed by the testimony which they themselves shall publicly give. But if neither of these proofs be thought consistent with the proceedings of your honourable house, then your petitioners can only assert their belief of the fact, which they hereby do in the most solemn manner, and on the most deliberate conviction.

Your petitioners entreat your honourable house to believe, that, in complaining of this species of influence, it is not their intention or desire to decry or to condemn that just and natural attachment which they who are enabled by their fortune, and inclined by their disposition, to apply great means to honourable and benevolent ends, will always ensure to themselves. What your petitioners complain of is, that property, whether well or ill employed, has equal power; that the present system of representation gives to it a degree of weight which renders it independent of character; which enables it to excite fear as well as to procure respect, and which confines the choice of electors within the ranks of opulence, because though it cannot make riches the sole object of their affection and confidence, it can and does throw obstacles almost insurmountable, in the way of every man who is not rich, and thereby secures to a select few the capability of becoming candidates themselves, or supporting the pretensions of others. Of this your petitioners complain loudly, because they conceive it to be highly unjust, that while the language of the law requires from a candidate no greater estate, as a qualification, than a few hundred pounds per annum, the operation of the law should disqualify every man whose rental is not extended to thousands; and that, at the same, that the legislature appears to give the electors a choice from amongst those who possess a moderate and independent competence, it should virtually compel them to choose from amongst those who themselves abound in wealth, or are supported by the wealth of others.

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Your petitioners are the more alarmed at the progress of private patronage, because it is rapidly leading to consequences which menace the very existence of the constitution.

At the commencement of every session of parliament, your honourable house, acting up to the laudable jealousy of your predecessors, and speaking the pure, constitutional language of a British house of commons, resolve, as appears by your journals, "THAT NO PEER OF THIS REALM HATH ANY RIGHT TO GIVE HIS VOTE IN THE ELECTION OF ANY MEMBER TO SERVE IN PARLIAMENT;" and also, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the commons of Great Britain, for any lord of parliament, or any lord lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the elections of members to serve for the commons in parliament."

Your petitioners inform your honourable house, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect that no less than one hundred and fifty of your honourable members owe their elections entirely to the interference of peers; and your petitioners are prepared to shew by legal evidence, that forty peers, in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burgage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontrolled command in very many small boroughs in the kingdom, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return eighty one of your honourable members.*

Your petitioners will, however, urge this grievance of the interference of peers in elections no farther, because they are satisfied that it is unnecessary. Numbers of your honourable members must individually have known the fact, but collectively your honourable house has undoubtedly been a stranger to it. It is now brought before you by those *who tender evidence of the truth of what they assert*, and they conceive it would be improper in them to ask that by petition, which must be looked for as the certain

* See the Table of Parliamentary Patronage, page 28.

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result of your own honourable attachment to your own liberties and privileges.

Your petitioners have thus laid before your honourable house, what the mischiefs are which arise from the present state of the representation, and what they conceive to be the grounds of those mischiefs, and therefore pray to have removed.

They now humbly beg leave to offer their reasons why they are anxious that some remedy should be immediately applied.

Your petitioners trust they may be allowed to state, because they are ready to prove, that **SEATS IN YOUR HONOURABLE HOUSE ARE SOUGHT FOR** at a most **EXTRAVAGANT** and **INCREASING RATE** of **EXPENCE.**

What can have so much augmented the ambition to sit in your honourable house, your petitioners do not presume accurately to have discovered, but the means taken by candidates to obtain, and by electors to bestow that honour, evidently appear to have been INCREASING IN A PROGRESSIVE DEGREE OF FRAUD and CORRUPTION. Your petitioners are induced to make this assertion, by the legislature having found it necessary, during the last and present reigns, so much to swell the statute book with laws for the prevention of those offences.

As far as conjecture can lead your petitioners, they must suppose, that the increasing national debt, and the consequent increase of influence, are the causes of the increased eagerness of individuals to become members of the house of commons, and of their indifference as to the means used to gratify their speculations. To prove that they do not state this wantonly, or without substantial grounds, they humbly beg to call your attention to the following table, all the vouchers for which are to be found in the journals of your honourable house, or in different acts of parliament.

It is upon this evidence of the increase of taxes, establishments, and influence, and the increase of laws found necessary

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to repel the increasing attacks upon the purity and freedom of elections, that your petitioners conceive it high time to inquire into the premises.

Your petitioners are confident that in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts, and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honourable house, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect. Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduced from theoretical opinions, but positive truths susceptible of direct proof, and if, in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call your attention to assertions which you have not been accustomed to hear, and which they lament that they are compelled to make, they intreat the indulgence of your honourable house.

Your petitioners will only further trespass upon your time, while they recapitulate the objects of their prayer, which are,

That your honourable house will be pleased to take such measures, as to your wisdom may seem meet, to remove the evils arising from the unequal manner in which the different parts of the kingdom are admitted to participate in the representation.

To correct the partial distribution of the elective franchise, which commits the choice of representatives to select bodies of men of such limited numbers as renders them an easy prey to the artful, or a ready purchase to the wealthy.

To regulate the right of voting upon an uniform and equitable principle.

And finally, to shorten the duration of parliaments, and by removing the causes of that confusion, litigation and expence, with which they are at this day conducted, to render frequent and new elections, what our ancestors at the revolution asserted them to be, the means of a happy union and good agreement between the king and people.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

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At the Revolution	The public revenue did not exceed - £2100000	The peace establishment had not exceeded - - 1900000	The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom and independence of parliament, to regulate elections, and to prevent frauds, bribery, &c. amounted only to - - - 14
At the death of William III.	The public revenue had increased to about 3950000	The peace establishment had increased to about 1950000	The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to - - 26
At the death of queen Anne	The public revenue had increased to about 6000000	The peace establishment had increased to about 2000000	The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to - - 35
At the death of George I.	The public revenue had increased to about 6800000	The peace establishment had increased to about 2600000	The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to - - 37
At the death of George II.	The public revenue had increased to about 8600000	The peace establishment had increased to about 2800000	The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to - - 49
In the 31st year of the reign of his present Majesty.	The public revenue had increased to above 16000000	The peace establishment had increased to about 5000000	The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to - - 65

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TABLE OF PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE.

Extracted from the Report on the State of the Representation, published by the Society of the Friends of the People, 1793.

NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATES FOR	INFLUENCES FOR.	Total Members returned by peers.
Earl of Londsdale	Appleby - 1 Cockermouth - 2 Haslemere - 2	Westmorland - 2	7
Lord Mount Edgecombe	Bossiney - 1 Lestwithiel - 2 Plympton - 2	Fowey - 1	6
Lord Elliot	Liskeard - 2 Grampound - 2 St. Germains - 2		6*
Duke of Newcastle	Boroughbridge - 2 Aldboro' York - 2	Newark - 1 East Retford - 1	6
Marquis of Buckingham	Buckingham - 2 St. Mawes - 2	Buckinghamshire - 1 Aylesbury - 1	6
Lord Aylesbury	Marlborough - 2 Great Bedwin - 2		4
Duke of Northumberland	Launceston - 2 Newport (Cornw.) 2		4

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Duke of Marlborough	Woodstock	2	Oxfordshire	1
	Heytesbury	1	Oxford	1
				5
Earl Fitzwilliam	Malton	2	Peterborough	2
	Higham Ferrers	1		5
Marquis of Lansdowne	Calne	2	Wycombe	2
				4
Lord Sydney	Whitchurch	1	Ludgershall	2
				3
Duke of Devonshire	Knaresborough	2	Derbyshire	1
			Derby	1
				4
Duke of Bedford	Tavistock	2	Bedfordshire	1
			Oakhampton	1
				4
Marquis of Stafford			Staffordshire	1
			Litchfield	1
			Newcastle, Staffordshire	2
				4
Lord Hertford	Orford	2		2
Lord Abingdon	Westbury	2		2
Duke of Norfolk			Arundel	1
			Leominster	1
				2
17 *Peers nominate*		49	*Influence*	25 *Car.ov.* 74

* We have not made any alterations in this table; for notwithstanding that some of the patrons have been displaced by other individuals, either by death or sale, the result to the public is exactly the same. It is quite immaterial, so far as the people are concerned, whether Lord Elliot, or any other NOBLE-man, who has stepped into his place, returns these six members to the honourable house. We shall have an opportunity however of supplying some additional information when we come to the Analysis of the present House of Commons.

NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATES FOR	INFLUENCES FOR	Total Members returned by Peers.
17 Brought forward	49	*Brought forward* . 25	74
Duke of Rutland - - - - -	Bramber - - 1	Grantham - - - - - 1 Scarborough - - - - - 1 Newark - - - - - 1	4
Duke of Richmond - - - -	- - - - - - -	Chichester - - - - - 1 Seaford - - - - - 1	2
Lord Radnor - - - - - -	Downton - - 2	New Sarum - - - - - 1	3
Duke of Beaufort - - - -	- - - - - - -	Monmouthshire - - - 1 Monmouth - - - - 1 Gloucestershire - - - 1	3
Lord Sandwich - - - - -	- - - - - - -	Huntingdonshire - - - 1 Huntingdon - - - - 2	3
Marquis of Bath - - - - -	Weobly - - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Lord Egremont - - - - -	Midhurst - - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Lord Westmorland - - - -	Lyme Regis - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Lord Cornwallis - - - - -	Eye - - - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Duke of Grafton - - - - -	- - - - - - -	Bury - - - - - - 1 Thetford - - - - - 1	2
Duke of Dorset - - - - -	Grinstead - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Duke of Bridgewater - - -	Brackley - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Lord Beverley - - - - -	Beeralston - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2
Lord Camelford - - - - -	Old Sarum - - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2

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Lord Foley	Droitwich	2
Lord Bute	Bossiney	1
Lord Portsmouth	-	-
Lord Orford	Castle Rising	1
Lord Malmsbury	Christchurch	1
Lord Hardwicke	Ryegate	1
Lord Somers	Ryegate	1
Lord Townshend	Tamworth	1
Lord Harrowby	Tiverton	2
Lord Darlington	Winchelsea	1
Lord Bulkeley	Beaumaris	1
Lord Powis	Montgomery	1
Duke of Bolton	-	-
Lord Spencer	-	-
Lord Falmouth	Truro	2
Lord Thanet	Appleby	1
Lord Guildford	Banbury	1
Lord Camden	-	-
Lord Powlett	-	-
Lord Grosvenor	-	-
Lord Bathurst	-	-
Lord Shaftesbury	-	-
53 *Peers nominate*		85

Worcestershire	1	3
Cardiff	1	2
Andover	1	1
-	-	1
-	-	1
Cambridgeshire	1	2
-	-	1
-	-	1
-	-	2
-	-	1
-	-	1
-	-	1
Totness	1	1
Oakhampton	1	2
St. Albans	1	
-	-	2
-	-	1
-	-	1
Bath	1	1
Bridgewater	2	2
Chester	2	2
Cirencester	1	1
Dorchester	1	1
Influence 53	*Car.ov.*	138

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NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATES FOR	
53 *Brought forward.*	. . . . .	85
Lord Berkeley	- - - - -	-
Lord Brownlow	- - - - -	-
Lord Pembroke	Wilton - - -	2
Lord Oxford	- - - - -	-
Duke of Manchester	- - - - -	-
Lord Pelham	- - - - -	-
Duke of Portland	- - - - -	-
Lord Uxbridge	Milborne Port -	1
Lord Exeter	- - - - -	-
Lord Warwick	- - - - -	-
Lord Petre	- - - - -	-
Lord Clarendon	- - - - -	-
Lord Bolingbroke	- - - - -	-
Lord Carlisle	- - - - -	-
Lord Onslow	- - - - -	-
Lord Walpole	- - - - -	-
Lord Grimston	- - - - -	-
Duke of Leeds	- - - - -	-
71 *Peers nominate*	- - - - -	88

INFLUENCES FOR		Total Members returned by Peers.
Brought forward	53	138
Gloucestershire	1	1
Grantham	1	1
- - - - -	-	2
Radnorshire	1	2
New Radnor	1	
Huntingdonshire	1	1
Lewes	1	1
Nottinghamshire	1	1
Anglesea	1	3
Carnarvon	1	
Stamford	2	2
Warwick	2	2
Thetford	1	1
Wootton Bassett	1	1
Wootton Bassett	1	1
Morpeth	2	2
Guildford	1	1
Lynn	1	1
St. Albans	1	1
Penryn	1	1
Influence	75	*Total* 163

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The Treasury	Queenborough - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2	2
The Treasury	- - - - - - -	Dover - - - - - -	1	1
The Treasury	- - - - - - -	Rochester - - - - -	1	1
The Treasury	- - - - - - -	Plymouth - - - - -	1	1
The Treasury	- - - - - - -	Windsor - - - - -	2	2
71 *Peers and the Treasury nominate*	- - 90	*Influence* - - -	80	*Total* 170

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATES FOR	INFLUENCES FOR		Total Mem. returned by Commoners
William Drake, esq. - - - -	Agmondesham - 2	- - - - - - - - -	2	2
Lord Clive - - - - - - -	Bishops Castle - 2	Ludlow - - - - - -	1	3
Rev. Mr. Holmes - - - -	Newport (Hants) 2 Yarmouth (Hants) 1	- - - - - - - - -		3
Sir J. St. Aubyn, bart - - -	Helstone - - - 1	- - - - - - - - -		1
—— Rogers, esq. - - - -	Helstone - - - 1	- - - - - - - - -		1
W. Pultney, esq. - - - - -	- - - - - - -	Weymouth, &c. - - - 4 Shrewsbury - - - - - 1		5
R. Barwell, esq. - - - - -	Tregony - - - 2 Winchelsea - - 1	- - - - - - - - -		3
P. C. Crespigny, esq. - - -	Aldborough (Suff.) 2	- - - - - - - - -		2
8 *Commoners nominate*	- - - - - - - 14	*Influence* - - - -	6	*Car.ov.* 20

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NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATES FOR	INFLUENCES FOR	Total Mem. returned by Commoners.
8 *Brought forward* - -	- - - - - - 14	*Brought forward* - 6	20
—— Trefusis, esq. - - - - -	Callington - - 2 Ashburton - - 1	. . . . .	3
Sir H. Bridgman, bart. - - -	- - - - - - -	Wenlock . . . . . 1 Wigan 1	2
J. Buller, esq. - - - - - - -	Saltash - - - 2 West Looe - - 2 East Looe - - 2	. . . . .	4
—— Buller, esq. - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	. . . . .	2
Sir Francis Buller, bart. - - -	- - - - - - -	Totness 1	1
Sir R. Clayton, bart. - - -	Bletchingly - - 2	. . . . .	2
Sir T. Dundas, bart. - - - -	Richmond - - 2	. . . . .	2
Sir E. Deering, bart. - - - -	Romney - - - 2	. . . . .	2
Sir T. Frankland, bart. - - -	Thirske - - - 2	. . . . .	2
Sir H. Burrard, bart. - - - -	Limington - - 2	. . . . .	2
Sir H. Calthorpe, bart. - - -	Bramber - - - 1	Hindon 1	2
Sir F. Basset, bart. - - - -	- - - - - - -	St. Michaels . . . . 1 Penryn 1	2
Sir J. Honeywood, bart. - - -	Steyning - - 2	. . . . .	2
Sir F. Sykes, bart. - - - -	- - - - - - -	Wallingford 2	2
Sir J. Vanneck, bart. - - -	Dunwich - - - 1	. . . . .	1
Sir F. Barrington, bart. - - -	Newtown (Hants) 1	. . . . .	1
Sir R. Worsley, bart. - - -	Newtown (Hants) 1	. . . . .	1

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Sir C. Hawkins, bart.				St. Michaels	1	1
Sir R. Palke, bart.	Ashburton	1		. . . . .	.	1
Sir G. Yonge, bart.				Honiton	1	1
Sir C. Davers, bart.				Bury	1	1
Sir S. Fludyer, bart.				Chippenham	1	1
Sir W. W. Wynne, bart.				Denbighshire	1	1
Lord Westcote	Bewdley	1		. . . . .	.	1
Lord Middleton	Whitchurch	1		. . . . .	.	1
Sir G. Gould Morgan				Brecon	1	1
W. Jolliffe, esq.	Petersfield	2		. . . . .	.	2
J. Robinson, esq.	Harwich	2		. . . . .	.	2
—— Wilkins, esq.	Malmsbury	2		. . . . .	.	2
R. Troward, esq.	Ilchester	2		. . . . .	.	2
W. Praed, esq.				St. Ives	2	2
T. P. Leigh, esq.	Newtown (Lanca.)	2		. . . . .	.	2
W. C. Medlycott, esq.	Milbourne Port	1		. . . . .	.	1
J. Calcraft, esq.	Wareham	2		. . . . .	.	2
J. B. Church, esq.	Wendover	2		. . . . .	.	2
Lady Irwin	Horsham	2		. . . . .	.	2
Mrs. Allanson	Rippon	2		. . . . .	.	2
Sir Jonathan Phillips,	Camelford	2		. . . . .	.	2
Thomas Lister, esq.	Clitheroe	1		. . . . .	.	1
47 Commoners nominate		64		*Influence*	22	*Car.ov.* 86

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NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATES FOR	INFLUENCES FOR	Total Mem. returned by Commoners.
47 Brought forward	64	*Brought forward* 22	86
		- - - - - - - - - -	1
P. A. Curzon, esq.	Clitheroe 1	Cambridge Town 2	2
John Mortlock, esq.		Grimsby 2	2
C. Anderson Pelham, esq.		Minehead 2	2
J. F. Luttrell, esq.			1
B. Barne, esq.	Dunwich 1		1
J. Bond, esq.	Corfe Castle 1		1
H. Bankes, esq,	Corfe Castle 1		1
E. Lascelles, esq.	Northallerton 1		1
H. Pierce, esq.	Northallerton 1		1
R. Ladbroke. esq.	Gatton 1		1
W. Currie, esq.	Gatton 1		1
W. P. Ashe A'Court, esq.	Heytesbury 1		1
B. Howard, esq.	Castle Rising 1		1
George Hunt, esq.	Bodmin 1		1
Lord Milford		Haverfordwest 1	1
C. Forester, esq.		Wenlock 1	1
J. C. Jervoise, esq.	Yarmouth (Hants) 1		1
C. Sturt, esq.		Bridport 1	1
G. Rose, esq.	Christchurch 1		1
W. Evelyn, esq.		Hythe 1	1
Sir C. Radcliffe		Hythe 1	1

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T. W. Coke, esq.			
T. Anson, esq.			
W. Lee Antonie, esq.			
T. Williams, esq.			
R. Middleton, esq.			
Philip Rashleigh, esq.			
C. Tudway, esq.			
J. Dawkins, esq.			
H. Penton, esq.			
R. Peel, esq.	Tamworth	1	
James Sutton, esq.			
—— Whitaker, esq.			
Sir Peter Burrel, bart.			
Jos. Iremonger, esq.			
W. Beckford, esq.			
Sir J. Carter			
E. Bastard, esq.			
Edward Milward, esq.	Hastings	2	
Thomas Lamb, esq.	Rye	2	
P. Stephens, esq.			
Lord Mulgrave			
R. Gammon, esq.			
Lord Bateman			
91 *Commoners nominate*			82

Derby		1	1
Litchfield		1	1
Marlow		1	1
Marlow		1	1
Denbigh		1	1
Fowey		1	1
Wells		1	1
Chippenham		1	1
Winchester		1	1
-		-	1
Devizes		2	2
Shaftesbury		2	2
Boston		1	1
Andover		1	1
Hindon		1	1
Portsmouth		2	2
Dartmouth		2	2
-		-	2
-		-	2
Sandwich		1	1
Scarborough		1	1
Winchester		1	1
Leominster		1	1
Influence		57	*Total* 139

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ABSTRACT.

71 Peers, and the Treasury, return by nominations and influence	170
91 Commoners return by nominations and influence	139
Total of members returned by private patronage for England and Wales, exclusive of the forty-five for Scotland	309

END OF MR. GREY'S PETITION.

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CHAPTER III.

A PEEP AT THE PEERS;

Or, an Alphabetical List of all the Peers who sit in the House, including the Bishops of England, and the four Irish Bishops who sit in Parliament; shewing the Offices, Pensions, Grants, Church preferment, and other things, attached to the Peers and their families.

EXPLANATIONS.

This list was originally published in 1820, and is obviously the result of immense labour and expense. To have so far corrected it, as to make it strictly applicable to the peerage at the present time is wholly impossible, as we have no returns as to their places, pensions, &c. of a more recent date. This, however, is a thing of utter indifference in point of fact. Although one individual may have been removed by death, and another may have changed his office or retired from public life, others of the same description and connection have succeeded to them, and devour the same, or a larger, amount of the public property. If any person should think that the system has been at all improved in its relation to the public purse, it will only be necessary to remind such an one, that every motion for inquiry into the facts of the case, has been stoutly and successfully resisted. This fact, were there no other, is sufficient to refute the idea, that there has been any economical revision of the pension and sinecure list. The parts inclosed in brackets, [ ], have been added by the present editor.

The list takes, first, the *titles* of the peers. After the titles come the letters designating the *rank*: D for *duke*, M for *marquis*, E for *earl*, V for *viscount*, B for *baron*, Bp. for *bishop*, and Abp. for *archbishop*. Next comes the *surname* of the peer in a parenthesis.—It will be perceived, that the same person, together with his emoluments, are frequently *repeated* under two or more titles; but, this has been done only

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to show the *connection* between the parties; and, unless by mere mistake, no sum has been *twice* included in the *totals*.—It must be observed, that all the sums stated are sums received *annually*; and that the sum stated at the foot of the article, relating to each peer, is the *annual sum* appertaining to him and his family.—No pension and place list has been laid before parliament since 1808. It is likely that many of the facts, taken from the list of that year, may now be incorrectly stated; but if death have removed some, others, it is presumed, have amply supplied their place; and, indeed, we are well convinced, that, in this, as in every other case, our statements are far below the mark.—There is a continual shifting of lords of the bedchamber and other officers; but if, from this cause, errors have occurred, they can, *upon the whole*, be of no importance. There are several instances where two or more peers have the same *surname*. This may have led to the placing against one peer, items that belong to another; but it has more frequently led to the *omitting* of items; and, indeed, in the cases of the *Gordons*, *Hamiltons*, *M'Donalds*, and many others, it has, we are satisfied, been impossible for us to include a fourth part of what really ought to have come into our statement. And, it is material to observe, that it has been wholly impossible for us to go beyond the *legitimate* offspring, and their *legitimate* connections. In the statement of *military* and *naval pay*, we have not confined ourselves to the mere *subsistence money*. Officers are *lodged* and have *fuel* and *candles* found them, and have wine *duty free*. They have *servants* allowed them. Their *washing* is done by those who have lodging, and fuel, and candles found them. All these things, together with the profits of *clothing* regiments, and ship's companies, and paying them, have been taken into view, in stating the sums, which we wish to be considered rather as the *cost to the public* than as the sums actually paid to the officers *in money*. Some officers may be on half-pay, whom we have considered on full-pay; but, *upon the whole*, we are satisfied, that we

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are far under the mark. Then, we have been able to find no guide at all in the case of the *Volunteer Yeomanry*, and these, without reckoning the remission of the horse tax and other advantages, actually cost the country, last year, [1820], no less a sum than 121,668*l*. As to the *church*, we have, where we had no means of making an estimate, taken each church benefice at 500*l*. a year. There are many which are under this sum of *annual worth;* but there are many that are worth *several thousands* a year each. It is curious enough, that of all the livings *under* 150*l*. a year, a list is laid before parliament *with the sums*; but that those *above*, have no sums put against them. It should be remembered, that, besides the *tithes*, there are *fees*, and a *gentleman's house*, a *good garden*, and most frequently *glebe land*. It is not likely that the sons, brothers, and other relations of peers, would have the *worst* livings bestowed on them; and, therefore, we think, that we may reasonably suppose the average worth of a church living to be 500*l*. a year. As to bishopricks, no man not immediately concerned in them can tell their worth. They have, in most cases, places, parks, and other things attached to them. The bishops are lords of hundreds of manors, and, indeed, we are satisfied that we are here also far below the mark. The *Irish church livings* are *wholly omitted*, except in about eight or ten cases. We had no means of ascertaining the facts relating to them. In our list we have thought it neither proper nor necessary to include the peers of the royal family. As to *India* and other *colonies*, we have *estimated* rather than *cited*, sums; but, the sums in those departments can scarcely be erroneous, except on the side of *under* statement; and, we beg leave to observe, that from whatever *source* these sums may *immediately* come, they come, in the end, from the same source, out of which all our other taxes are drawn. We have given, in our list, only such peers as actually *sit in the house of lords;* but there are 209 Scotch and Irish Peers, (including Irish bishops), who do not sit in the house. We have examined into them

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also, and have ascertained in the above manner, on the above principles, and with the above unavoidable *omissions*, the offices, pensions, grants, and emoluments of them and their families, the *total* of which we state as below. The result, then, is as follows:

365 Peers sitting in Parliament and their families	£2,754,336
209 Peers not sitting in Parliament and their families	978,000
Total per annum . .	£3,732,336

What *inference* ought to be drawn from this statement it is not for us to say. Whether this mode of expenditure be a *good* or an *evil*, we wish not to be called on to determine. Let our countrymen at large *judge for themselves*. *Patronage* is a great thing. It is not only *power*, but it is also *money*. The peers and their families have all the *lord lieutenancies*, *custoships*, and *governorships* of counties. These give them an infinite number of inferior appointments. The same may be said of governorships of castles; forts and garrisons; and also of vice admiralties, stewardships, rangerships, recorderships, and many other things, which seem to be merely *honorary*. To have the absolute power of *giving* 100*l.* a year, for instance, is to *possess* that 100*l.* a year; for we give it, of course, to some relation, servant, or friend; and, in fact, the value is enjoyed by *ourselves*. Yet in our list, we have reckoned *nothing* for patronage, and have seldom pointed at its magnitude, except in the case of the bishops. Nor have we noticed, at all, the *tithes*, which the peers and their families gather, as *lay tithe-owners*. The duchess of Dorset, for instance, has the great tithes of the parish of *East Grinstead*. There are a great many instances of this kind; but, we have left this article wholly out of our account. The parliament has, for many years past, granted 100,000 pounds a year *out of the taxes*, to the

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clergy of the church of England. What part of these sums may have gone to the relations of the peers we know not; and, therefore, this also we *wholly omitted.* In stating the *number* of church livings, we have not adopted the language of the church, which is, to call two or three *parishes* only one living, in many cases. For instance, UPHAM *cum* (or *with*) DURLEY, is called a *living*, in the language of the church; but these are two *distinct parishes;* they have two churches and two sets of overseers and churchwardens. In all such cases we have stated them as separate livings. Very large sums have been, and still annually are, granted to French and other emigrants, most of whom are *nobles* and *clergy;* but, we have been unable to get at particulars, and have, therefore, wholly omitted this article also. The *military academy* costs a sum of about 70,000*l.* *How many* of the scholars belong to the *peers*, we have not been able to ascertain; but we know that many of them do; and it will be observed, that the people pay, in this case, for educating the children of their superiors. However, in this state of uncertainty, we have *reckoned nothing on this account.* Then, again, there is about 80,000*l.* a year expended in *secret service* money. We do not know who receives this; and of course, we have *wholly left it out, also.* In short, we have taken only A PEEP at the subject; and, we repeat, that we by no means take upon us to decide, whether this mode of applying the fruits of the people's labour be a *good* or an *evil.* We are not presumptuous enough to regard ourselves as legislators, or as political economists; we claim only the humble merit of having collected, with great diligence, materials from which the political economist and the legislator may possibly draw some useful practical inferences.

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ABERCORN, M. *(Hamilton)* a minor. His aunt is bishop of Worcester's wife. The bishop of London, now archbishop of Canterbury, was *tutor* to the late marquis. Sinecures and pensions to the under branches of the family, £1,407.

ABERDEEN, E. *(Gordon)*. [Secretary of State for foreign affairs, 6000*l.* a year;] a pension of 600*l.* Brother, 1,309*l.* a year, secretary at Vienna. Another relation, dean of Exeter, and four church livings and other benefices, not less than 3,000*l.* [His wife is the mother of the marquess of Abercorn.] Alexander Gordon, lieutenant colonel of foot, 700*l.*—£5,609. [£11,609.]

ABERGAVENNY, E. *(Neville)*. Patent inspector of prosecutions in the customs, 2,000*l.*; [recorder of Harwich.] Aunt, 372*l.* pension. Son, captain navy, 700*l.* a year. [Another son, a clergyman. A third, a clergyman, with the livings of Birling, Kent; vicar of Frant, Sussex; and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.]—£3,072. [£4,572.]

ABINGDON. E. *(Bertie)*. [Lord lieutenant of Berks, and high steward of Abingdon.] Cousin, 500*l.* a year in the church, and another, three livings, 1,500*l.*—£2,000.

ABOYNE, E. *(Gordon)*. Colonel of the Aberdeenshire militia, 1,000*l.* Alexander, in same regiment, 300*l.* Brother, a major and assistant quarter master general, 900*l.* Cousin, major general in India, and colonel of a regiment, 3,000*l.* A cousin, a captain navy, 700*l.* a year. [His son married the eldest daughter of the marquess of Conyngham.] —£5,900.

ALBEMARLE, E. *(Keppel)*. A son, captain navy, 700*l.* Another son in the army, 300*l.* [A third in the church.] Cousin, *Robert Adair*, pension as late foreign minister, but no particulars.—£1,500.

ALVANLEY, B. *(Pepper Arden)*. Brother, captain army, £400.

AMHERST, E. *(Amherst)*. Pension, 3,000*l.*; lord bedchamber, 1,000*l.*; retired ambassador, 2,500*l.*; [late governor general of India.]—£6,500.

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ANGLESEY, M. *(Paget)*. A lord lieutenant, a constable of a castle, and ranger of a forest, worth together, including patronage, a vast sum; [late lord lieutenant of Ireland.] A general in army, and a colonel of a regiment of horse, 2,500*l*. His brother, Arthur, a retired ambassador, 1,700*l*. His sister, lady Louisa, two pensions, 600*l*. A son, a captain of horse, 500*l*. His brother, Edward, a lieutenant general and colonel of the 80th foot, 2,200*l*. His brother, Charles, captain navy, 700*l*. His brother, Berkeley, a lord of the treasury, 1,500*l*.; and a son of this man, a page to the king, worth 300*l*. A sister, wife of lord Graves, who is [was] a lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l*.; and who has a son who is another page. N. B. These pages are always put into army, navy, church, or something. See further, *lord Enniskillin*. One of the marquis's daughters is duchess of Richmond. [Another, wife to earl Mountcharles, eldest son of the marquess of Conyngham.]—£11,000.

ANSON, V. *(Anson)*. Uncle George, major general; colonel of a regiment of horse; aid-de-camp to the king, 2,500*l*.; and this George, a son, a lieutenant in guards, 400*l*. His uncle Charles has four church livings, and is archdeacon of Carlisle, 2,500*l*. His uncle, William, a lieutenant general, 1,000*l*. His uncle Henry four church livings, 2,000*l*. His uncle Edward, captain militia. His uncle, Sandbroke, captain army, 400*l*. His uncle, Frederick, two church livings, 1,000*l*. [His son George, a lieutenant general in the army, 1,500*l*., and colonel in the dragoons, 1,500*l*. His son, William, a lieutenant general, 1,500*l*. His son, Sambrook, also, in the army, 800*l*. Two other sons in the church, 1,000.]—£9,800. [£16,100.]

ARDEN. B. *(Perceval)*. Registrar high court of admiralty, 38,574*l*.; a pension to some amount as steward of the late queen [Charlotte; a lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l*.] Brother's wife, a pension, 2,000*l*. a year. Her son, a sinecure, 2,700*l*. A son, captain navy, 700*l*. [Two sons in the church, 1,000*l*.]—£43,974. [45,974.]

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ARGYLE, D. *(Campbell)*. A lord lieutenant; master of king's household in Scotland; keeper of three castles; admiral of Western Isles. The patronage and pay of these are immense, but cannot be ascertained. His brother, John, colonel of a regiment of militia, 1,000*l*. Sister Augusta's husband, lieutenant general 1,000*l*. A cousin in the chancery, with a place worth 7000*l*. Uncle Frederick, a sinecure, 1,200*l*. a year. Twenty-one relations, with pensions to the amount of 7,100*l*.—£17,300.

ARUNDEL, B. *(Arundel)*. A catholic. Sister's husband, a captain navy, £700.

ASAPH, Bp. *(Luxmore)*. Bishoprick, 6,000*l*.; late tutor to the duke of Beaufort. A son, two livings in the church, 1000*l*. Livings in the bishop's church, in his gift, ninety.—£7,006.

ASHBURNHAM, E. *(Ashburnham)*. A son in the guards, 300*l*. Brother-in-law of the duke of *Montrose (See Montrose.)* A relation with two church livings, 1,000*l*. —£1,300. [Just dead.]

ASHBURTON, B. *(Dunning)*.

ATHOL, D. *(Murray)*. A lord lieutenant; and lord of Isle of Man; the patronage immense; a sinecure grant, 4,059*l*.; a grant in trust for female relatives, 300*l*. A son, a lord of the bedchamber; a colonel in army; aid-de-camp to the king, 2,000*l*. A daughter, married to a captain of horse, 700*l*. Another daughter, to a captain navy, 700*l*. A brother's son, bishop of Sodor and Man, 2,000*l*. This bishop's sister, wife of Selwyn, two livings in the church, 1,000*l*. His niece, wife of major general *Oswald*, employed and had a corps in the Greek Island, 2,000*l*. His brother-in-law, Martin, a living in the church, worth 1,500*l*. Pensionsto the duke's daughters' nieces, 800*l*. A relation, a lord of session, £2,000*l*. There are *six male* and *eight female* Murrays on the pension list.—£17,059. [Just dead.]

AUCKLAND, B. *(Eden.)* Auditor of Greenwich Hospital, 1,000*l*. and patronage. His uncle, Lord Henly, re-

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tired foreign minister, 2,000*l.*; and is a retired lord of bedchamber, 500*l.*; and this man's wife has a sinecure of 1,035*l.* The Moores, cousins of Lord Auckland, have sinecures and livings to the amount of 12,000*l.* His uncle, Richardson, has two church livings, and is chancellor of St. Pauls, 2,000*l.* His sister is wife of Mr. Vansittart, [late] chancellor of the exchequer, who has 7,500*l.* Mr. Vansittart has a relation of the same name, with two church livings. Lord Auckland's cousin, H. Eden, king's counsel of the court of Lancaster; and commissioner of bankrupts, 1,300*l.* Arthur Eden, clerk under Charles York, in the exchequer office, no sum specified. A cousin, M. Eden, *Vendue Master*, Demarara and Esequibo, 5,000*l.* a year at least.—£32,335.

AUDLEY, B. *(Audley [Thickness Touchett].)* A pension, 500*l.* His father-in-law is an admiral, 1,000*l.*—£1,500.

AYLESBURY, E. *(Bruce Brudenell).* Colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* Brother-in-law 5,300*l.* as foreign minister. See *Lord Cardigan*, and the numerous pensions of the *Brudenells*.—£6,300.

AYLESFORD, E. *(Heneage Finch).* Uncle Edward Finch is a lieuteuant general; a groom of the bedchamber; and colonel of a regiment of foot 2,200*l.* His brother, Heneage Finch, has six benefices in the church, 3,000*l.* His uncle, Daniel, has a church living, and is a prebend of Gloucester, 1,000*l.* His brother, George, is on the half-pay in the guards, 250*l.* [One son in church, 500*l.* One in army, 800*l.*]—£6,450. [£7,750]

BAGOT, B. *(Bagot).* His brother, Charles, ambassador to Russia, 10,000*l.* His brother, Richard, two church livings, 1,000*l.*—£11,000.

BALCARRAS, E. *(Lindsey).* A general, and colonel of the 63rd foot, 2,200*l.*; a pension 300*l.* A son, major of horse, half-pay 350*l.* A son, a salt agent in India, 10,000*l.* at least. A son, a cornet of horse, half-pay, 300*l.* A son in the military service in India. His sister, Bernard,

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pension, 300*l.* His brother-in-law, *James Bland Burgess*, knight marshal king's household, 1,200*l.* This man's relation, C. M. Burgess, knight marshal of lord steward's office, 200*l.* The earl's brother, bishop of Kildare, and dean of Christ Church, 12,000*l.* Another brother, a lieutenant colonel of foot, 700*l.* His sister, *lady Hardwick*, *see the Hardwicks.* His brother, marshal to the court of admiralty, worth, probably, 5,000*l.*, taking war and peace together; he is, besides, an East India director. His son is collector of government customs in Bengal, worth 4,000*l.* His son-in-law, *Antrobus*, Agent to the bank of Scotland; and brother to *Gibbs Crawford Antrobus*, who is secretary of legation to America; and whose petition to sit for the borough of Aldborough has lately been before the public. Phillip Yorke Lindsey, another son, assistant salt agent, and collector of customs in India, 5,000*l.* Another Lindsey, of the same family, has, in the salt and opium duties, 4,500*l.* Another is a *writer* in India, at the college of Calcutta—£46,050.

BANDON, E. *(Bernard).* A son, captain dragoon guards, 500*l.* A son, married to the daughter of the archbishop of Cashel, who has 20,000*l.* [A son, a dean in the church, 2000*l.*] Brother-in-law to lord Shannon, whom *see.* His cousin, a general and colonel of a regiment of foot 2,000*l.* This peer must be viewed in connection with lord Shannon and archbishop of Cashel —£22,500. [£24,500.]

BANGOR, Bp. *(Majendie).* Son of the late queen Charlotte's tutor. Value of his see and adjuncts, 5,000*l.* He has the patronage of eighty livings, besides appointments in the cathedral and colleges.—£5,000.

BATH, M. *(Thynne).* [Lord lieutenant of Somersetshire.] His brother George, comptrollerof late king's [George III.] household. 800*l.* Brother-in-law of Osborn Markham, joint clerk king's bench, 3,795*l.*; same man 800*l.* a year, chancellor Province York. [One son in navy, 700*l.* Another in the church, 500*l.*] The brothers of this Markham have large sums.—£6,195. [£7,395.]

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BATH AND WELLS, Bp. *(Law)*. Value of his see, 5,330*l.*; patronage, twenty-seven livings, many other benefices. Two brothers, who have four church livings, 2,000*l.* [The bishop is uncle to *lord Ellenborough.*]—£7,330.

BATHURST, E. *(Bathurst)*. [Late] secretary for colonies, 6,000*l.* India commissioner 1,500*l.* Sinecure teller 2,750*l.* Joint clerk of the crown, 1,600*l.* Clerk of dispensations, 473*l.* [President of the council, 4,000*l.*] His son, lord Apsley, joint clerk of the crown, 1,600*l.* His second son is deputy teller, no sum specified; also, an India commissioner, 1,500*l.* The earl married late duke of Richmond's sister. The bishop of Norwich is this earl's uncle. See *Richmond* and *Norwich.*—£15,423.

BAYNING, B. *(Rev. H. W. Powlett)*. He has a brother, lieutenant colonel foot guards, 1,000*l.* This peer has no children: but see *lord Sydney*, *lord Chichester*, and *duke of Newcastle.*—£1,000.

BEAUCHAMP, E. *(Lygon)*. Brother, lieutenant colonel life guards, and aid-de-camp to the king, 1,000*l.* Another brother, a major in the life guards, 800*l.* [Two sons in army, 1,600*l.*] Brother-in-law of *Lord Longford.* See this word with its appendages. A cousin of this earl, in the Isle of France, 1,000*l.*—£2,800. [£4,200.]

BEAUFORT, D. *(Somerset)*. Lord lieutenant of *three counties* [Gloucester, Monmouth, Brecon;] receiver of king's rents in the duchy of Lancaster, constable of a castle, and warden of forest of Dean, and is Welch wine butler. These things are supposed to be worth 10,000*l.* at least. Colonel militia of two counties. His son, a half-pay dragoon officer, 300*l.* His brother, Charles, is governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape, worth 22,000*l.* This man is a general in the army and colonel of foot, 1,500*l.* This man's son is captain in the army, his father's aid-de-camp, and colonial paymaster, worth 1,800*l.* The duke's brother, Robert, joint deputy paymaster of forces, 500*l.* This man is a major general in army, and late colonel of the 21st dragoons, 1,000*l.* Inspector general of the cavalry of Great Britain,

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about 1,500*l.*; and his brother, J. T. H. is his aid-de-camp, 500*l.* more. Another brother of the duke, John, a major of dragoons, 700*l.* Another brother, a lord of treasury, 1,500*l.* Another brother, Fitzroy, [secretary to the commander-in-chief,] secretary of embassy to France, 2,000*l.*; a lieutenant colonel army, 800*l.*; pension, 300*l.* Besides this, he is secretary to the master general of the ordnance, 2,500*l.* The master general is duke of Wellington, and this Somerset *married Wellington's niece!* The duke of Beaufort's sister's husband two livings in the church, 1,000*l.* Another sister's husband, a major in army, 700*l.*—£48,600.

BEDFORD, D. *(Russell)*. The duke has no place or pension himself. His sister-in-law, lady *Madelina Palmer*, wife of Fysche Palmer, *Member for Reading*, has a pension of 200*l.*: and his brothers-in-law, the dukes of Manchester, late Richmond's family, marquis Huntley, and the families of Gordon and Maxwell, whom see.—£200.

BELHAVEN, B. *(Hamilton)*.

BELMORE, E. *(Corry)*. Lord lieutenant and a governor of a county in Ireland. Colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* [Governor general of Jamaica, 14,000*l.*] James Corry, cousin, sinecure, 660*l.*—£15,660.

BERESFORD, B. *(Beresford)*. Lieutenant general in army, field marshal in Portugal, ambassador to the Brazils, 25,000*l.* A pension of 2,000*l.* Colonel of the 88th regiment of foot, 1,200*l.*; and governor of Cork, 400*l.* [Master general of the ordnance, 6,000*l.*; governor and custos of Waterford. Another brother, primate of all Ireland. 20,000*l.**] He has a brother an admiral, 1,000*l.*—£29,600.

BERKELEY, E. *(Berkeley)*. Constable of Dean forest, 210*l.* Keeper of St. Briovel's castle, 210*l.* Brother is an ensign in the grenadier guards, 250*l.* A cousin, a lieutenant colonel in army, 800*l.* Cousin, wife of Sir Thomas Hardy, an admiral, 1,000*l.* Another cousin, wife of a

* See "Cobbett's Seventh Lecture on the French Revolution," for the infamous juggling of the Beresfords with church livings.

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nephew of the marquis of Hertford, a captain navy, 700*l.* Two relations in church with three livings, 1,500*l.*—£4,670.

BERWICK, B. *(Hill)*. [A son, ambassador to court of Sardinia, 5,300*l.* Another son in church, two livings, 1,000*l.*] His relation, *Ann Hill*, a pension, 130*l.* A brother with two livings in the church, 1,000*l.*—£1,130. [£2,130.]

BESBOROUGH, E. *(Ponsonby)*. Vice Admiral of Munster. A son, lieutenant colonel of horse, with a pension, 1,300*l.* His daughter's husband is one of the *Lambs*, which see under *Melbourne*.—£1,300.

BEVERLEY, E. *(Percy)*. Uncle to duke of Northumberland. His son, lord Lovaine, colonel Northumberland militia, 1,000*l.* [and a lord of his majesty's bedchamber, 1,000*l.*] married a sister of *Stuart Wortley*, member for Yorkshire, late lord of treasury, a pension, supposed, 1,000*l.* Another son, brother-in-law to *Stuart Wortley's* sister, secretary of legation, 1,584*l.* Another son, prebendary of Canterbury and chancellor of Exeter and Salisbury; also prebendary of Finsbury and St. Paul's; son-in-law of the archbishop of Canterbury; besides these he has three church livings. The church benefices of this man are supposed worth 10,000*l.* [now much more, for he is bishop of Carlisle.] Another son, Josceline, captain navy, 700*l.* Another son, lieutenant colonel army and captain horse, 700*l.* —£15,184. [£16,000.]

[BEXLEY, B. *(Vansittart)*. A new peer. Late chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. A paragon of piety, humanity, wit, eloquence, and financial genius. The places and pensions of this man, were returned at 7,500*l.* in 1808. What they are now no man knows. See Auckland.]

BLESSINGTON, E. *(Gardener)*. A governor of the county of Tyrone. This being Irish we have no means of getting at facts.

[BLOOMFIELD, B. (*Bloomfield*). Envoy extraordinary to the court of Sweden, 5,000*l.*, major general army, and a

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colonel royal artillery, 2,500*l.* A son, secretary of legation at court of Sweden, 1,500*l.* This is one of the new peers.—£9,000.]

BOLINGBROKE, V. *(St. John.)* Brother a lieutenant general in army, £500.

BOLTON, B. *(Ord Pawlett.)* His uncle is an admiral, 1,000*l.* Other relation five livings in the church and a prebend, worth 3,000*l.*—£4,000.

BOSTON, B. *(Irby.)* Lord bedchamber, 1,000*l.* A son in navy, captain, 700*l.* Another son, a captain of life guards and lieutenant colonel army, 1,000*l.* Another son, two livings in the church, 1,000*l.* A grandson, a page to the king, 260*l.* The present lord's mother was a *Selwyn*. See *Sydney*.—£3,960.

BRADFORD, E. *(Bridgeman.)* Colonel Shropshire militia, 1,000*l.* A son, commissioner in navy, 500*l.* Another son, captain army and lieutenant grenadier guards, 300*l.* Brother, two church livings, 1,000*l.*—£2,800.

BRAYBROOK, B. *(Neville.)* A lord lieutenant; hereditary visitor of a college at Cambridge, with great patronage; provost marshal in Jamaica, 5,960*l.* A son, master of Maudlin College, with great income, with a great church living, worth 4,000*l.* This peer is brother-in-law to *Lord Grenville*, whom see.—£9,960.

BREADALBANE, E. *(Campbell.)* A lieutenant general in the army, a councillor of state in North Britain; 1,500*l.* Married a cousin of the earl of *Lauderdale*, whom see.—£1,500.

BRIDGEWATER, E. *(Egerton.)* A general in army, colonel of a regiment of horse, 2,000*l.* His brother has a golden prebend of Durham 2,500*l.*, and two great livings in the church, 2,000*l.* [This is the present earl.] His niece is wife of *Charles Long*, who is joint paymaster of the forces, 2,000*l.* who has a pension of 1,500*l.*, which he has had for 19 years, and whose wife is to have a pension of 750*l.* after his death and whose brothers have six church livings worth

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3,000*l.* Two female relations of the earl have 700*l.* and who live in one of the palaces. The earl is master of Greetham hospital, Durham, with great patronage, and with a salary not specified.—£13,709.

BRISTOL, E. *(Hervey.)* Son of the late bishop of Derry. Brother-in-law of the Earl of Liverpool, uncle to Mrs. Stuart Wortley, uncle to the two Fosters, one is minister in Denmark, 5,000*l.* one a retired minister, 1,700*l.* A son, captain in army, £500. A cousin a secretary of legation at Munich, 1,000*l.* The mother of the two Fosters is the duchess dowager of Devonshire. Uncle to Lord Howard de Walden, whom see.—£7,700.

BRISTOL, Bp. *(Kaye.)* Value of see 2,940*l.* with a valuable rectory attached to the see. Master of a college and professor, 2,500*l.* He has fourteen livings in his gift. £5,440.

BROWNLOW, E. (*Cust.*) Lord lieutenant of Lincoln, colonel militia. 1,000*l.* Nephew-in-law to earl of *Bridgewater*, whom see. Two brothers, having four church livings, including a canonship of Windsor, 2,500*l.* A brother, a captain in dragoon guards, 500*l.* Another brother, a captain army, 400*l.* The earl is brother-in-law to *Charles Long.* See *Bridgewater* again for the *Longs.*—£4,400.

BUCCLEUGH, D. (*Scott.*) A minor; [lord lieutenant of Edinburghshire, 1,000*l.*; lately married a daughter of the marquess of Bath. Grandson of Lord *Sidney*, whom see. Walter *Scott*, the *poet*, holds places worth 3,500*l.* He is said to be a relation to this family.]—£3,500.

BUCKINGHAM, D. (*Grenville.*) Lord lieutenant of Bucks, and colonel militia, 1,000*l.* [Lord steward 3,000*l.*] His uncle, T. Grenville, has a sinecure of 2,316*l.* His uncle, Lord Grenville, has a sinecure of 4,000*l.* (reckoned before.) His aunt has a contingent pension of 1,500*l.* His cousin, H. W. W. Wynn, 1,200*l.* pension; now envoy to Denmark, 5,000*l.* His cousin, sir W. W. Wynn, a colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* For more see *Grenville, Glastonbury, Braybrook,—Carysfort,* and *Carington.* [£19,816.]

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BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, E. (*Hobart.*) His predecessor had a sinecure of 11,000*l.* for many years. The *executors* of *Jane* Hobart (a relation), 200*l.* His cousins, the *children* of George Hobart, have 400*l.* pension. His uncle dean of Windsor, with five other benefices, all worth 6,000*l.* His aunt (Abenia) was wife of *Cumberland*, the *play writer*. A pension to her of 400*l.* and to four of her daughters, 200*l.* His uncle, *John Sullivan*, is commissioner for India affairs, 1,500*l.* This man's son has a sinecure at Demerara of 1,800*l.* His cousin *Desbrowe* is secretary of legation in Denmark, 1,000*l.* Another *Desbrowe* is married to Sir H. Taylor, who, together with his connections, have more than 20,000*l.* This peer is a cousin of lord *Castlereagh's wife*, whom see, under *Londonderry*,—£31,500.

BULKELEY, N. (*Bulkeley.*) A lord lieutenant, constable of a castle. Chamberlain of North Wales.

BUTE, M. (*Stuart.*) His grandfather had a pension of 7,009*l.* for more than forty years. This marquis is a lord lieutenant of two counties, [Buteshire and Glamorganshire.] His wife is a daughter of the late earl of *Guildford*, and *she* has a sinecure place in the customs, comptroller inwards and outwards, of 2,391*l.* A cousin to *Stuart Wortley*. A cousin ambassador at Paris, 12,000*l.* An uncle a captain navy, and an uncle a colonel army, 800*l.* His great uncle primate of Ireland, archbishop of Armagh, the patronage immense, present income 20,000*l.* *Knox*, husband to this bishop's daughter, has, with his brother, sinecures amounting to 12,700*l.* Another brother, bishop of Derry, 18,000*l.* *Wakefield* gives the full worth at 120,000*l.* but we will take it at 18,000*l.* This peer's wife is a cousin of *Lady Castlereagh* and of *Lord Buckinghamshire*, whom see. We do not include the late marquis's pension.—£65,891.

BYRON, B. (*Byron.*) His mother, a pension of 300*l.* A cousin, captain navy, 700*l.* Another captain navy, 700*l.* and his son has a church living, 500*l.* Another relation with a living in the church, 500*l.* There is a pension to

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children of a captain Byron; but we are not sure that they belong here.—£2,700.

CADOGAN, E. (*Cadogan.*) Brother George a captain navy, 1,000*l.* and this man's brother-in-law, lord Walscot, is a captain in the guards, 700*l.* Brother major general army, 1,000*l.* His sisters, one the wife of the rev. G. V. *Wellesley*, another *was* wife of Sir Henry *Wellesley*, and is *now* wife of the *Marquis of Anglesea*, See *Anglesea* and *Wellesley*.—£2,700.

CALEDON, E. (*Alexander.*) Governor of Tyrone county, and colonel of militia, 1,300*l.* Formerly governor of the Cape. Son-in-law of earl *Hardwicke*, whom see. Cousin, bishop of Down, 5,000*l.* Brother-in-law of lord Blayney, who is a major general army, and lieutenant colonel 89th foot, 1,800*l.* [A son represents Old Sarum.] A nephew an East India Director. A cousin archdeacon of Down (with other church livings), 2,000*l.*—£9,800.

CALTHORPE, (*Calthorpe.*) His cousin a commissioner of bankrupts, 500*l.* Near relation of Mr. *Wilberforce*, and his brother-in-law *Stephen*, who is a master of chancery, worth 3,000*l.* and whose son is *registrar of slaves* and *counsel*, worth about 4,000*l.*—£7,500.

CAMDEN, M. (*Pratt.*) Lord lieutenant, and vice admiral of Kent; teller of the exchequer, which he had more than forty years on the *old establishment* at 30,000*l.* a year. *Now* it yields him 2 750*l.* [which he patriotically consented to return to the treasury, when threatened with a parliamentary inquiry.] A sister wife of the earl of *Londonderry* (father of lord *Castlereagh.*) He is uncle to *lord Stewart*, ambassador at Vienna. See those. His nephew Mr. *James*, pension 1,100*l.* Brother-in-law, *Price*, sinecure, 300*l.*—£4,150.

CANTERBURY, Abp. (*Manners Sutton.*) [*Howley.*] His arch-bishoprick, 35,000*l.* He has one hundred and seventy-six livings in his gift, besides an archdeaconry and three prebends. His son speaker of the house of commons, 6,000*l.* He has another son lieutenant colonel guards, 800*l.* A daughter mar-

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ried *Hugh Percy*, son of the earl of *Beverley*, whom see. The archbishop is cousin of the *duke of Rutland*, and brother of lord *Manners*, both of whom see.—£41,800,

CARDIGAN, E. (*Brudenel.*) Pension 320*l.* a year. Sisters pension 300*l.* and apartments in a palace. They have each 131*l.* as allowances. His aunt, pension, 500*l.* See *Aylesbury*.—£1,282.

CARLETON, V. (*Boyle.*) Pension in Ireland, 2,700*l.* A relation, sinecure, 532*l.* as clerk of ship entries. He has relations in the *Irish church*, but we have no particulars of the livings in that church.—£3,232.

CARLISLE, E. *(Howard).* [Late lord privy seal; lord lieutenant of the east riding of York.] Father-in-law of the duke of Rutland and lord Cawdor, and brother-in-law of the marquis of Stafford, whom see.

CARLISLE Bp. (*Goodenough*). Brother-in-law to lord *Sidmouth!* The see is worth 5,310*l.* He has thirty-four church livings in his gift. Four relations in the church with six livings, 3,000*l.* He was tutor to the duke of Portland. —£8,310.

CAERNARVON, E. (*Herbert*). Brother has six livings in the church, worth 3,000*l.* Another brother in the church, with a large living in Yorkshire. The particulars cannot be ascertained. His wife is a relation of *Sir Thomas Ackland*. —£3,000.

CARRICK, E. (*Butler*). Brother a lieutenant colonel in the army, 700*l.* Sister, wife of Maxwell Barry, who has great church livings in Ireland. This man's brother is a *lord of the treasury, governor of the county of Cavan, and colonel of the Cavan militia*, 2,600*l.*—£3,300.

CARRINGTON, B. (*Smith*). Father of lady Stanhope, whose husband has *two sinecures*, which see. Father-in-law of H W. W. *Wynn*, who, for having been four years envoy at Dresden, has had, from 1807, to this time, 1,200*l.* Two other Wynns have sinecures to the amount of 700*l.* with *reversion to* the wife and daughters of one of them.— £1,900.

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CARTERET, B. (*Thynne*). High bailiff of Jersey, supposed to be worth 2,000*l.* Uncle to the Thynnes, *see Bath.* —£2,000.

CARYSFORT, E. (*Proby*). Has a sinecure in Ireland, 1,307*l.* Second son captain navy, 1,000*l.* Father-in-law of Wells, captain navy, 1,000*l.* A relation, six church livings, 3,000*l.* Another relation, late a commissioner in Chatham dock-yard. This earl is *brother-in-law of lord Grenville.* See the *Grenvilles.*—£6,307.

CASSILIS, E. (*Kennedy*), A brother in the army, but no particulars can be found to be depended on. A relation, Mrs. Lucy Kennedy, pension, £160.

CATHCART, E. (*Cathcart*). Lord vice admiral of Scotland, 1,400*l.* A general in the army, colonel of life guards, 2,700*l.* Ambassador at Petersburgh, 13,000*l.* His mother, pension, 500*l.* His son, lord Greenock, lieutenant, colonel, and assistant quarter master general, 1,500*l.* Second son, major general and captain dragoons, 1,200*l.* Third son, lieutenant and aid-de-camp, 500*l.* A brother of E. Cathcart has four church livings, 2,000*l.* A relation, lord of session in Scotland, 2,000*l.* His sister, countess of Mansfield, 1,600*l.*, whose second son has the reversion of the auditorship of the exchequer in Scotland, worth, 1,200*l.*—£27,600.

CAWDOR, B. (*Campbell*). Lieutenant colonel commandant of militia, 1,000*l.* First son, is son-in-law of *Marquis of Bath*, which see. Second son, captain navy, 700*l.* A cousin, a collector of customs, 1,000*l.*—£2,700.

CHARLEMONT, E.)*Caulfield*). Irish.

CHARLEVILLE, E. (*Bury*). Irish.

CHATHAM, E. (*Pitt*). Brother of the "Heaven-born minister." A pension of 4,000*l.* Governor of Gibraltar, 6,500*l.* General in army, colonel of a regiment of foot, 2,000*l.* His wife is to have at his death, 3,000*l.* She is sister of lord *Sydney*, whom see. A relation, lady Pitt, 750*l.*, and an allowance as widow of a general, 300*l.* He is uncle of *lady Grenville.* See the Grenvilles.—£13,550.

CHESTERFIELD, E. (*Stanhope*). A minor.

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CHESTER, Bp. (*Law*). Uncle of lord Ellenborough, 4,700*l.* with six prebends and thirty livings in his *gift*. Has a son in the *secret* department in India, 2,000*l.* and another, a collector in India, 2,500*l.* He has sons in the church with benefices to the amount of 2,750*l.*—£11,950.

CHICHESTER, E. (*Pelham*). Joint post-master general, 2,500*l.* Brother, *bishop of Exeter*, 6,500*l.*, with one hundred church livings, besides precentorships and prebends in his *gift*. Cousin of the *duke of Newcastle*, whom see. —£9,000.

CHICHESTER, Bp. (*Buckner*). Was tutor to the old duke of Richmond, 6,770*l.* with thirty-six livings and twenty prebends in his gift.—£6,770.

CHOLMONDELEY, M. (*Cholmondeley*). Lord steward of household, worth 3,000*l.* Chamberlain court of exchequer of the county of Chester, 1,000*l.* A cousin in the excise, 3,000*l.* A cousin (lady Bellingham) sinecure, 330*l.*, pension 1,100*l.*, and her husband, 500*l.* His brother, hon. and *rev.* R. Cholmondeley, is *auditor general of the Leeward Islands*, 5,000*l.*—£10,050. [£13.930.]

CHURCHILL, B. (*Spencer*). Son-in-law of the *duke of Grafton*, whom see. Brother of *duke of Malborough*, whom see. Ranger of Wickwood, £500.

CLANCARTY, E. (*Trenck*). Governor of the county of Galway and colonel of the militia, 1,000*l.* Ambassador in Holland, 10,000*l.* Brother *archbishop of Tuam*, 20,000*l.* Brother, a colonel in army, and lieutenant colonel 74th foot, 1,000*l.* A cousin, a secretary of customs, 500*l.* A relation, W. F. another lieutenant colonel. One lieutenant artillery, one a captain foot, and three others in the army. Suppose the whole sum to be 2,000*l.* This lord married a *Staples*, who are cousins of *lady Castlereagh*, and have 908*l.* pensions. A relation, a dean of Elphin, with other benefices supposed worth 2,000*l.*—£37,408.

[CLANRICARDE, M. *(De Burgh)*. A new peer. Son-in-law of the late Mr. Canning, and late under secretary of state for foreign affairs]

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[CLANWILLIAM, B. *(Meade)*. A new peer.]

CLARE, E. (*Fitzgibbon*). [Governor general of India.] His mother has a pension of 1,000*l*. His brother, a sinecure, 2,940*l*. is colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. and is governor of Limerick, with great patronage. His first cousin, Cavendish Bradshaw, a sinecure place, 500*l*. His cousins, the *Freemantles*, have pensions and sinecures to the amount of 1,749*l*. He is nephew of the late colonel WHALEY. His cousin was wife of the late archbishop of Tuam. He is the son of the late *lord Clare*, chancellor of Ireland. He has a relation, a collector of customs in Ireland, worth 1,500*l*.—£8,689.

CLARENDON. E. (*Villiers*). Has a brother (John) with sinecures to the amount of 2,250*l*. Also *marshal* at *Antigua*, 2,500*l*. His brother, George, has also sinecures to the amount of 3,300*l*., and also at Gibraltar, a sinecure, 1,200*l*.—£9,250.

[CLEVELAND, M. *(late Lord Darlington)* Created marquis under Canning's administration, is one of the greatest boroughmongers in England—if not the greatest. A brother-in-law, late captain navy, only seventeen years old, was tried by a court martial for losing his ship, and convicted.]

CLIFDEN, V. (*Welbore Ellis*). Clerk of the council in Ireland, a sinecure, 2,160*l*. His brother, in the Irish church with income of about 2,000*l*. This lord is brother-in-law of the duke of Marlborough, whom see. A cousin, a collector of customs in India, worth 4,000*l*.—£8,160.

CLIFFORD, B. (*Clifford*). A catholic.

CLINTON, B. (*Trefusis*). [A lord of the bedchamber, £1,000*l*.] Lieutenant colonel in army 700*l*. Brother, comptroller stamp office, 400*l*.—£1,100.

CLOYNE, Bp. *(Bennet)*. His bishoprick, 7,500*l*., besides great patronage.—£7,500.

COLCHESTER, B. *(Abbott)*. A sinecure of 1,500*l*. in Ireland, which he has kept for more than twenty years. Pension of 4,000*l*. as late speaker of the house of commons. [Has a son navy post captain, another a lawyer.]—£5,500.

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COLVILLE, B. *(Colville)*. Pension of 200*l*. Captain navy, 700*l*. Brother, a major general army, and colonel 94th foot, with a pension, 2,000*l*.; [is now governor and commander-in-chief of the Mauritius, 20,000*l*.] Two sisters, a pension of 200*l*. between them. A relation sinecure sheriff depute, 300*l*. A sister, wife of *Frankland*, who has two church livings, 1,000*l*.—£4,600.

COMBERMERE, B. *(Cotton)*. Governor of Babadoes and of the Leeward Islands, and commander of the forces, 10,200*l*. A lieutenant general and colonel of a regiment of dragoons, 2,000*l*. [Commander-in-chief of India.] A son, cornet in the 2nd dragoon guards, 300*l*. A brother, with two church livings, 1,000*l*. He is brother-in-law of the *duke of Newcastle*, whom see.—£13,500.

CONYNGHAN, M. *(Conyngham)*. Lord lieutenant of two counties in Ireland. A general in army, 1,000*l*. His brother (they are *twins*) F. N. *Burton*, colonel of militia in *Ireland*, 1,000*l*. and lieutenant governor of *Lower Canada*, 1,600*l*. His son, lord Frederick, master of the robes to the king. [A son, Albert, secretary of legation to Prussia, £1,500*l*.]—£3,600.

CORK, E. *(Boyle)*. Lieutenant general in army, 800*l*. Brother Courtenay Boyle, captain navy, 700*l*.; a commissioner of a dock-yard, 1,000*l*. This man's wife a pension 300*l*. as a servant of the late queen [Charlotte.]—£2,800.

CORK, Bp. *(Lawrence)*. His bishoprick, 6,400*l*. besides patronage. He is brother of the earl of *Howth*, whose family have numerous emoluments.—£6,400

CORNWALLIS, M. *(Mann)*. Master of king's staghounds, 2,000*l*. Colonel of militia, 6,000*l*. His uncle is bishop of Litchfield, 9,590*l*. Brother-in-law of *Mark Singleton*, storekeeper of the ordnance, 1,863*l*. He is half-brother of Sir Miles Nightingale, who is a lieutenant general in army; colonel of the late West India regiment; late governor and commander in chief at Bombay. He has *now* only his half pay, about 1,000*l*.—£15,813

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COVENTRY, E. (*Coventry*). A lord lieutenant. A son-in-law, captain in the guards and aid-de-camp, 700*l*. His son, brother-in-law of *Lord Beauchamp*, whom see.—£700.

COURTENAY, V. (*Courtenay*). His cousin, *T. P. Courtenay*, an M. P., a registrar of land tax, a secretary of India affairs, 2,000*l*. [now vice president of the board of trade.] This man is also *agent for* the Island of *Ceylon*, worth about 4,000*l*. His cousin William (brother of the last), a master in chancery, 3,000*l*.; two sinecures, 855*l*. Three *sisters* of these, 400*l*. in pensions. Another is a maid of honour, 300*l*. A sister of the viscount married captain Foy of the artillery, 600*l*. Another sister major Morland, of the 9th dragoons, 700*l*. Two other sisters married two of the Somersets. See *Beaufort*.—£11,855.

COURTOWN, E. (*Stopford*). Captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, 1,000*l*. Two brothers, one a major general, captain and colonel guards, and another an admiral 3,200*l*. A third brother, a general officer, equerry to the late queen, 1,200*l*. Another brother, a *canon*, a *prebendary*, and a *rector*, 2,000*l*. A nephew, a captain in navy, 700*l*. The admiral married a *Fanshaw*, whose father is a commissioner at Plymouth, and a son of this commissioner is a post captain in the navy, 1,700*l*.—£9,800.

[COWLEY, B. (*Wellesley.*) A new peer. Brother of the duke of Wellington; ambassador extraordinary to the court of Austria, 12,000*l*. See Wellington, Wellesley, and Maryborough.]

COWPER, E. (*Cowper*). A sinecure of 2000*l*. His uncle, deputy clerk of house of lords, worth 1,500*l*.; and pension of 1,026*l*. This man's wife to have a pension, at his death, 513*l*. Two nieces, pensions between them, 730*l*. This earl is son-in-law of *Lord Melbourne*, whom see.—£5,256.

CRAVEN, E. (*Craven*). A lord lieutenant; a lieutenant general army, 1,000*l*. A brother, major army; aid-de-camp to king, 800*l*. Brother-in-law of general St. John, 1,000*l*, —£2,800.

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CREWE, B. *(Crewe)*. A son, lieutenant general army, 1,000*l*. A relation, secretary board of ordnance, 2,500*l*. His daughter's son, *Hinchcliffe*, pension, 1,000*l*. A relation, *Crewe*, with two livings in the church, 1,000*l*. Hinchcliffe, chief justice admiralty court, Jamaica, 2,000*l*. A son-in-law to lord Crewe, *Watson*, general army, 1,000*l*.—£8,500.

CURZON, V. (*Curzon*.) His uncle has two church livings, 1,000*l*. Uncle, a captain navy, 700*l*. A cousin, Captain dragoons, and aid-de-camp, 700*l*.—£2,400.

DACRE, B. (*Brand*.) His brother, colonel army, and lieutenant colonel guards, £800.

DALHOUSIE, E. (*Ramsay*). Governor and commander-in-chief in Canada, 10,000*l*. ; a general in army, a colonel 26th foot, 2,000*l*. A brother, a major general and governor of Antigua and Montserrat, 5,000*l*. This one is brother-in-law to the late *right honourable John M'Mahon*. Relation, *Ramsay*, registrar of chancery, in Jamaica, 4,694*l*. Another brother of the earl, a lieutenant colonel army, 700*l*. A relation, agent in the salt departments in India, 2,000*l*.—£24,394.

DARLINGTON, E. (*Vane*.) Lord lieutenant and vice admiral of the county of Durham ; colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. His son, an officer of life guards, 400*l*. ; cousin to the earl of *Lonsdale*, whom see ; and his second son has married a *Lowther*.—£1,400.

DARNLEY, E. (*Bligh*.)

DARTMOUTH, E. (*Legge*.) Colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. His uncle is *bishop of Oxford*, whom see. Another uncle, a commissioner navy, 1,000*l*. Another uncle, an admiral, 1,000*l*. ; and groom of the bedchamber to the late king, 500*l*. Another uncle, an archdeacon and prebendary ; and has two church livings, 1,500*l*. His sister is wife of *Hon. sir Edward Paget*, brother of the marquis of Anglesea, lieutenant general ; groom of bedchamber to the king ; colonel 28th regiment of foot ; and governor of Cowes Castle, 3,000*l*. A cousin, comptroller of the viceroy's house in Ireland, 500*l*. A cousin, with offices in Ireland.—£9,000.

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ST. DAVID'S, bp. (*Burgess.*) This bishoprick, 6,260*l.*; besides 100 livings, prebends, and precentorships in his gift. A relation in the church, with two livings, 1,000*l.*—£7,260.

DE CLIFFORD, B. (*Clifford.*) His wife is daughter of the late archbishop of Tuam. His mother is a pensioner, we suppose, as she was placed about the princess Charlotte. He is brother-in-law of *Lord Sydney*, whom see.

DE DUNSTANVILLE, B. (*Basset.*) This man was *Sir Francis Basset*; his wife is sister of sir John *Hippesley Cox*, who was in India with *Sullivan* and *Hobart*. De Dunstanville's brother has three livings in the church, 1,500*l.* The Hippesleys and Coxes have numerous livings in the church, but we cannot come at particulars.—£1,500.

[DELAMERE, B. *(Cholmondeley.)* A new peer. A personal friend of his late majesty.]

DELAWAR, E. (*West.*) Lord of bedchamber, 1,000*l.* A sister, wife of colonel d'Arcy, royal artillery, 800*l.* His aunt, wife of general *Wynyard*, colonel 46th foot, 2,000*l.*; whose *son* is a lieutenant colonel army, and a captain guards, 700*l.*; and whose *brother* is a lieutenant general, and colonel 5th foot; and equerry to the duke of York, 2,500*l.* Another Wynyard is a lieutenant colonel, and captain guards, 700*l.* Four relations in the church, with *seven* livings, 3,500*l.*—£11,200.

DE LA ZOUCHE, B. (*Bishop.*) His aunt is mother-in-law to *Lord Liverpool*, and this woman is mother of the duchess of Dorset, and of lady Aboyne. See *Liverpool*, *Whitworth*, *Dorset*, and *Aboyne*.

DENBIGH, E. (*Fielding.*) He has a cousin captain navy, 700*l.* Another relation, a police magistrate at Queen-square, 600*l.* Cousin to lord *Winchilsea*, whom see. A cousin's husband named *Marriott*, a living in church 500*l.*—£1,800.

DERBY, E. (*Stanley.*) A lord lieutenant. His son, a colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* His eldest son married a *Hornby*, and these Hornbys have church livings to the amount of about 7,000*l.*—£8,000.

[DE TABLEY, B. *(Leycester.)* A new peer.]

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DEVONSHIRE, D. (*Cavendish.*) [Late lord chamberlain.] A lord lieutenant. His uncle, colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* His cousin, major of dragoons, 8,00*l.* This man married a daughter of *W. Fawkener*, (who received, during many years, upwards of 6,000*l.*) The duke's mother-in-law is the mother of the *Fosters*. See *Besborough*.—£1,800.

DIGBY, E. (*Digby*). Lord lieutenant of Dorset. His sister is wife of *Wingfield*, a Welsh judge, 1,000*l.* A brother with three livings; and another, seven livings, 3,500*l.* A cousin, a captain navy, 700*l.* A cousin (countess of Ilchester, lady of bedchamber to late queen, pension, supposed 500*l.* A relation, an admiral, 1,000*l.*—£6,700.

DONEGAL, M. *(Chichester.)* Governor of Antrim. His eldest son, in dragoons, 300*l.* A nephew in dragoons, 300*l.* This man has married a daughter of the Marquis of *Anglesca*, whom see.—£600.

DONNOUGHMORE, E. *(Hutchinson.)* Governor of Tipperary. A lieutenant general army, 900*l.* He has sinecures to the amount of 3,127*l.* His brother, F. H. Hutchinson, sinecure, 350*l.* See his brother *Lord Hutchinson*. Several relations, in the army.—£4,377.

DORCHESTER, E. *(Carleton.)* His mother a pension of 1,000*l.* Two aunts wives of *Lord Bolton*, and his brother, which latter has two livings in the church, 1,000*l.* Another relation in the church, with three livings, 1,500*l.* Several other relations in the church or army.—£3,500*l.*

DORMER, B. *(Dormer.)* Capt. dragoons, 500*l.* Brother in-law of marquis of *Lothian*, whom see. His wife has a pension of 200*l.*—£700.

DORSET, D. *(Sackville.)*

DOUGLAS, B. (*Douglas*). A lord lieutenant. His son, colonel militia, 1,000*l.* Brother-in-law of *Duke* of *Montrose*, whom see. A relation, secretary of legation at Berlin, 1,500*l.* —£2,500.

DOWNE, V. (*Downey*). A brother with three church livings, 1,000*l.*

DOWNSHIRE, M. (*Hill*). Constable of a fort, 243*l.*

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Brother, a major in army and captain dragoons, 800*l.* Another brother, a coronet, 300*l.*—£1,343.

DROGHEDA, M. *(Moore).* A governor of three counties in Ireland. A general in army and colonel of a regiment of horse, 2,000*l.* Constable of a castle. His son, a sinecure, 2,052*l.* Three relations, one, a comptroller of customs, 1,040*l.*; one, commissioner barracks, 400*l.*; and one, late inspector of barracks, 120*l.* A relation, captain foot guards, 700*l.* The marquis's brother-in-law, *Ormsby Vandeleur*, commissioner of customs, 1,200*l.* Another *Ormsby Vandeleur*, colonel 13th light dragoons and master general, 2,000*l.* Brother-in-law to the marquises of *Hertford* and *Londonderry*, whom see. See also *Camden.*—£9,512.

DUCIE, B. (*Moreton*). A brother, a lieutenant colonel army and captain life guards, £800.

[DUDLEY, E. (*Ward*). Late Dudley and Ward, secretary of state for foreign affairs. We believe, but are not sure, that the rev. sir *Bate Budley*, baronet, who has great church benefices, is a relation.]

DUNCAN, V. (*Duncan*). Pension of 2,000*l.*; another pension of 1,083*l.* Brother, a captain navy, 700*l.*—£3,783.

DUNDAS, B. (*Dundas*). A brother, a captain navy, 700*l.* Another brother, with two church livings, 1,000*l.* Another brother, a quarter master general, 800*l.* Brother-in-law of *lord Milton.*—£2,500.

[DURHAM, B. (*Lambton*). A new peer, son-in-law of earl Grey, whom see.]

DURHAM, Bp. (*Shute Barrington*). [*Van Mildert.*] Bishoprick of Durham, 5,000*l.* His nephew, lord viscount Barrington (Irish peer) a living worth 4 or 5,000*l.*, and he has a golden prebend of Durham, 2,000*l.* His nephew, *Clarges*, constable of Durham castle, 800*l.* G. N. *Vincent*, husband of his niece, usher to late queen, pension, 400*l.* Other *Barringtons* and *Prices* hold several sinecures in

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Durham: and a nephew, *Price*, has a *prebend*, 4,000*l.* —£61,700.

DYNEVOR, B. *(Rice)*. Lord lieutenant [of Carmarthen] 1,000*l.* A brother, with three church benefices, 1,800*l.* Brother-in-law of *Magens Dorian Magens, a bank director.* Brother-in-law of admiral Markham, 1,000*l.*; and whose brothers and relations have 4,000*l.* in the church, having a *deanery*, an *archdeaconry*, a *prebend*, and several church livings.—£7,800.

EGLINTOUN, E. *(Montgomery)*. a minor.

EGMONT, E. *(Perceval)*. Half-brother to lord *Arden*, and brother-in-law to lord *Redesdale*, whom see.

EGREMONT, E. (*Wyndham*). Lord lieutenant [of Sussex] 1,000*l.* Two brothers have sinecures in Jamaica and Barbadoes, worth 18,000*l.* A son, a lieutenant colonel of dragoons, 700*l.*, who married a daughter of lord Charles Somerset; see *Beaufort.* There are two more sons in the army, 1,400*l.* By a marriage of his mother, a tribe of the *Scotts* came forth, who have helped to supply *India.*—£20,100.

ELDON, B. (*Scott.*) Has been [was] lord chancellor for twenty-[five] years, and during that time, received about 35,000*l.*; [45,000*l.* now a pension as retired lord chancellor, 4,000*l.*;] besides his *patronage*, which has been to an enormous amount. His brother, sir William Scott [now lord Stowell] is judge of the admiralty court, with many other appointments, not falling short, on an average, of 12,000*l.*, and which he has held for nearly twenty years. This man is father-in-law to the *marquis of Sligo*, whom see; and he is *vice lord lieutenant of Berkshire.* Lord Eldon's son has two *reversions*, after the death of lord Bathurst and Thurlow, worth 7,330*l.* His brother-in-law, W. V. *Surtees*, is a commissioner of bankrupts, 500*l.* and has a reversion of the office of registrar of affidavits, 400*l.* Two other brothers-in-law, have five livings in the church, 2,500*l.* N. B. The son of Mr. *Bankes*, member for

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Corfe castle, [now a commissioner for India Affairs] has married a daughter of the chancellor. This *Bankes's*, daughter wife to lord *Falmouth*, whom see.—£50,400.

ELGIN, E. (*Bruce*). A pension, 2,000*l*. A lieutenant general in the army, 700*l*., [celebrated for *despoiling the Grecian antiquities*.] A *lady Elgin*, a pension of 300*l*. —£3,000.

ELLENBOROUGH, B. (*Law*.) [Now president of the board of control, 6,000*l*.] Son of the late chief justice. His uncle is bishop of Chester, [Bath and Wells,] whom and whose sons see. This peer is *joint clerk* of the court of king's-bench, 3,800*l*.; and his brothers and sisters have the other 3,800*l*. He has a brother, who has an office, worth, 1,000*l*. He has a brother, a lieutenant in the 11th dragoons, 400*l*. *Towry*, this lord's grandfather, a commissioner of victualling office, 1,000*l*. And the lord himself *married* lord *Castlereagh's sister*.—£16,000.

ELY, M. (*Loftus*.) Governor of Fermannagh* and colonel of Wexford militia, 1,000*l*. Brother, bishop of Killala, 5,000*l*. Two relations in the army.—£6,000

ELY, Bp. (*Sparke*). (Late tutor to the *duke of Rutland*.) His bishoprick is worth 21,340*l*. Patronage, 108 livings.—£21,340.

ENNISKILLIN, E. (*Cole*). Governor of an Irish county [Fermannagh] and an officerof militia, 1,000*l*. His brother, G. Cole, a lieutenant colonel of a regiment of foot, and governor of Gravesend and Tilbury forts, 2,300*l*. Another brother, resident at Mysore, 5,000*l*. This peer is brother-in-law to *Marquis of Anglesea* and lord *Grantham*, whom see.— —£8,300.

ERNE, E. (*Creighton*). A governor of a county [Fermannagh] in Ireland. He has a son, a lieutenant colonel in the army and governor of Hurst castle, 1,400*l*. This peer is brother-in-law to lady *Liverpool*, whom see, and father-in-

* There are three or four governors of some Irish Counties.

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law to *Stuart Wortley*. Another brother, with a sinecure in Ireland of 300*l*.—£1,700.

ERSKINE, B. (*Erskine*). Pension of 4,000*l*. which he has had ever since the year 1807. It was given him for his services as lord chancellor, which place he *did not fill* 18 *months*. His eldest son [the present lord envoy to the court of Bavaria, 5,000*l*.] a pension as retired ambassador, of 1,700*l*. A son, in the church, 500*l*. A son-in-law, also in the church with four benefices, 2,000*l*. His sister, a pension, 300*l*.—£8,500

ESSEX, E. (*Capel*). Brother, sinecure at Berbice, and receiver general, Stafford, 2,000*l*., and half pay in army, 400*l*. This man's wife, sister of *marquis of Anglesea*, whom see. Another brother, a major general in army, 800*l*. Another, a captain navy, 700*l*.; and another brother, two church livings, 1,000*l*.—£4,900.

EXETER, M. (*Cecil*). [Lord lieutenant of Rutlandshire, 1,000*l*.] Almoner to the king. A brother, coronet in dragoons, 300*l*. A sister, wife of *Pierpoint*, envoy extraordinary at Stockholm, 1,200*l*. See *Northumberland*, *Beverley*, and *Gwydir*.—£2,500.

EXETER, Bp. (*Pelham*). See is worth, 6,500*l*. with forty-eight livings and other things in his gift. Clerk of the closet to the king, 400*l*. Brother to the *earl of Chichester* and cousin to the *duke of Newcastle*, whom see.—£6,900.

EXMOUTH, B. (*Pellew*). A pension of 2,000*l*. An admiral, 1,000*l*. Two sons, captains navy, 1,400*l*. A son, in the church with three benefices, 1,500*l*., and this son has married a daughter of lord *Sidmouth*, whom see. Two daughters; one, the wife of an admiral, and another, captain navy, 1,700*l*. His wife, has a pension of 150*l*. His brother, Israel, is an admiral, 1,000*l*. His brother, Samuel, a collector of customs, 1,000*l*. His nephew, a captain in life guards, 700*l*.—£10,450.

FALMOUTH, V. (*Boscawen*). Son-in-law of *Mr. Bankes*, of Corfe castle. He has a brother, with three

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livings in the church, 1,500*l.* A sister, wife of sir *George Warrender*, lord of the admiralty, 1,000*l.* Another sister, wife of lord Arthur Somerset, brother of the *duke of Beaufort*, whom see. Two relations, one a commissioner of salt-duties, and one a commissioner of bankrupts, 928*l.* Another relation, sempstress and laundress to the late queen, pension, 150*l.*—£3,578.

[FARNBOROUGH, B. *(Long)*. A new peer. See Bridgewater.]

FARNHAM, E. (*Maxwell*). Governor of the county of Cavan. A sister, the wife of the late archbishop of Dublin (20,000*l.*) Lord Farnham has a cousin, a pluralist in Ireland. We cannot come at particulars.

FERNS, Bp. (*Jocelyn*). Bishoprick, 7,800*l.* besides patronage. Brother of *earl Roden*, whom see.—£7,800.

FERRERS, E, (*Shirley*). He has an uncle rear admiral, 700*l.* His wife, is cousin to the *duchess of Newcastle*, whom see.—£700.

[FEVERSHAM, B. (*Duncombe*). A new peer]

[FIFE, E. (*Duff*). A new peer. Lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l.*; and lord lieutenant of Banffshire, 1,000*l.*—£2,000.]

FITZWILLIAM, E. (*Fitzwilliam*). [Patron of the present attorney general.] High steward of Hull, custos of the Soke of Peterborough, and recorder of Higham Ferrers. Brother-in-law of earl of *Besborough*, whom see. His son, *lord Milton*, is son-in-law of *lord Dundas*, whom see. Related to the *Ponsonbys*, whom see. He was the patron of the late *Edmund Burke*, who was the trumpeter to the war against the people of France, in 1793; and this Burke, while Fitzwilliam was in the ministry, had 3,000*l.* pension settled on him for life, with a reversion of 1,500*l.* to his wife. And, besides these, he had, at the same time, settled on his *executors* (that is, on himself *after his death*) two *grants*, one for *two lives*, and one for *three lives*, both grants

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2,500*l.* a year. Burke has been dead twenty years, and therefore, there has *already* been paid to these *executors* 50,000*l.* of *principal* money. He received from his *pension* about 20,000*l.*, so that he has already cost 70,000*l.* The grants are still *going on.*—£2,500.

FOLEY, B. (*Foley*). Brother-in-law of the duke of Leinster.

FORBES, B. (*Forbes*). [Custos of Longford, 1,000*l.*] General in the army, colonel of the 21st regiment of foot, 2,200*l.* His two sons are, one a lieutenant in the guards, the other, an ensign in the guards, 700*l.* An uncle, a captain navy, 700*l.* Three relations in Scotland, 800*l.* A relation, judge at Calcutta, 4,000*l.* and other relations in India.—£8,400.

[FORESTER, B. (*Forester*). A new peer.]

FORTESCUE. E. (*Fortescue*). Lord lieutenant of the county of Devon. His son, lord Ebrington, colonel of the Devon militia, 1,000*l.* A son, a post captain in the navy, 700*l.* A brother, a superannuated captain in the navy, 219*l.*, and other relations, pensioned on the Irish establishment to the amount of 4,482*l.* Brother-in-law to lord Grenville, whom see.—£6,410.

GAGE, V. (*Gage*). A relation of lord Foley, clerk of the signet.—£363.

GALLOWAY, E. (*Stewart*). An admiral, 1,000*l.* Lord Lieutenant of the county of Wigtoun. A brother, a lieutenant general in the army, and colonel commandant in the rifle brigade, 2,000*l.* Another brother, commissioner of customs, 1,500*l.* A brother, lieutenant colonel in the 3rd foot guards, 800*l.* Other relations, pensions and sinecures to the amount of 4,545*l.* Brother-in-law to the *duke of Marlborough* and *marquis of Anglesea*, whom see.—£9,845.

GAMBIER, B. (*Gambier*). An admiral, 1,000*l.* Brother, a captain navy, 700*l.* Sister's husband, Dr. Ironmon-

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ger, three livings, 1,500*l.* Mother, a pension, 100*l.* A cousin, consul in the Netherlands, 2,000*l.* A nephew, three livings in the church, 1,500*l.*—£6,800*l.*

GARDNER, V. (*Gardner*). A minor. An uncle, an admiral, 1,000*l.* An uncle, lieutenant colonel of artillery, 700*l.* Another uncle, captain artillery, 600*l.* Another uncle, captain in the navy, 700*l.*—£,2000.

[GIFFORD, B. *(Gifford)*. A new peer. The late lord was king's attorney general at the queen's trial; since master of the rolls; and deputy speaker of the house of lords; his wife has a pension.]

GLASGOW, E. (*Boyle*). [Lord lieutenant of Ayrshire, 1,000*l.*] *Extraordinary director of the bank of Scotland*, A son, captain in the navy, 700*l.* A cousin, lord justice clerk in Scotland, 2,000*l.*, whose son has a sinecure of 200*l.* —£2,900.

GLASTONBURY, B. (*Grenville*). A general in the army, 1,000*l.* and colonel of a regiment of foot, 2,000*l.*; clerk privy seal, 350*l.*; ranger of Windsor park, 600*l.*, and comptroller to the duke of York, 600*l.*—£4,450.

[GLENLYON, B. (*Murray*). A new peer. A lord of the bedchamber, £1,000.]

GLOUCESTER, Bp. (*Ryder*). Bishoprick, 3,200*l.* Twenty-four livings and other things in his *gift*. Brother of *lord Harrowby* and others, whom see. There are several of these *Ryders*.—£3,200.

[GODERICH, V. ("*Prosperity*" *Robinson*). A new peer. Was chancellor of the exchequer: was created a viscount, and appointed secretary for colonies, to be the organ of Canning's administration in the house of lords. He succeeded Canning as first lord of the treasury. Brother of lord Grantham, whom see.—£4,000.]

GOSFORD, E. (*Acheson*). Governor of a county [Armagh] in Ireland, and colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* A brother, captain in the guards, 500*l.*, and customer of the port of

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Dublin, 1,500*l.* A sister, wife of lord William *Bentinck*, See *Portland*—£3,000.

GORDON, D. (*Gordon*). A lord lieutenant. Major in the army, 800*l.* Keeper of a castle. Keeper of the great seal of Scotland, 3,000*l.* His brother, William, deputy ranger of St. James's and Hyde-parks, 700*l.*, and a grand house to live in. This man's wife, is a sister of the *marchioness of Hertford*. A relation, a lieutenant colonel in the army; two others, captains in the navy, 2,100*l.* Another in the church with four livings, 2,000*l.* A daughter of the duke, *lady Madelina*, is wife of *Fyshe Palmer*, member for *Reading*. This wife has a pension, too! See *Bedford*. Other relations (Gordons) pensions and sinecures, 4,600*l.* A *Chalmers*, another relation, a pension of 240*l.* His wife's relations, the *Maxwells*, have amongst them, in offices, places, and pensions, 7,550*l.* Father-in-law of the dukes of *Manchester* and *Bedford*, and marquis *Cornwallis*, grandfather of the duke of *Richmond*, and father of the marquis of *Huntley*, whom see.—£20,990. [Just dead.]

GRAFTON, D. (*Fitzroy*). Lord lieutenant and vice admiral [of Suffolk.] A ranger of a king's forest. A pension, 9,000*l.* out of the excise, 4,700*l.* out of post-office. A sinecure, 2,886*l.* He married a daughter of lord Waldegrave. His brother, Henry Fitzroy, has four church livings and a prebend of Westminster, 2,500*l.* His brother, Charles, a general in army and colonel of the 48th foot, 2,000*l.* A son, a lieutenant colonel in the army and major in the guards, 800*l.* Brother, William, a major general in army, 800*l.*—£22,686.

GRANARD, E. (*Forbes*). Brother-in-law of the marquis of *Hastings*, whom see. Lieutenant general in army, 1,000*l.* Governor of the county of Longford, and colonel Longford militia, 1,000*l.* Clerk of the crown and *hanaper* in the court of chancery, 1,800*l.* A son, colonel in army and aid-de-camp to king, 800*l.* Two other sons; one a

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captain, and the other a lieutenant in guards, 1,000*l.* A daughter, married lord *Rancliff.*—£5,600.

GRANTHAM, B. (*Weddell Robinson*). Lord lieutenant of Bedfordshire. Son-in-law of the earl of *Enniskillen*, whom see. His brother, F. J. treasurer of the navy, 2,000*l.*; and president of the board of trade and plantations, 1,500*l.* A relation, governor of Tobago, 3,500*l.*; 1,375*l.* a year amongst other relations, who have sinecures and pensions. His above-mentioned brother, F. J. married a relation of lord *Castlereagh;* this relation is a *Hobart*, sister of the present earl of *Buckinghamshire*, whom see.—£8,375. [See Goderich.]

GRANTLEY, B (*Norton*). High steward of Allertonshire and of Guildford. His brother, *Fletcher Norton*, a baron of Scotch Exchequer.—£2,865,

GRANVILLE, V. (*Granville Leveson Gower.*)—Late ambassador, 2,300*l.* Brother to the Marquis of *Stafford*, whom see.—£2,300.

GRENVILLE, B. (*Grenville*). Chancellor of Oxford University; [auditor of the exchequer]. Sinecure 4,000*l.* He is brother of *Thomas Grenville*, who has also a sinecure. Uncle of the Marquis of *Buckingham*, whom see.—£4,000.

GRAY, B. (*Gray*). Pension 206*l.* Brother-in-law to the earl of *Moray.*—£200.

GREY, E. (*Grey*). Son-in-law of lord *Ponsonby.* Brother a lieutenant general in army and colonel of dragoons, 2,000*l.* Another brother, commissioner of Portsmouth dock-yard, 1,100*l.* with *house* and many other things. Another brother, captain navy, 700*l.* A brother in the church with two livings, 1,000*l.* [Brother Edward, the living of Bishopsgate, 2,500*l.*] *Ellice*, a member for Coventry, is brother-in-law of the earl, and this *Ellice* has a brother lieutenant col of dragoons, 700*l.* This earl is father-in-law of Mr. *Lambton*, M.P.—£8,000. [See Durham.]

GROSVENOR, E. (*Grosvenor*). Lord lieutenant of [Flint.] His brother is a lieutenant general army, and colonel

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of 65th regiment of foot, 2,000*l.* His *mother* is now wife of lieutenant general baron de Hochpied (late Porter) commander of a district, 1,500*l.* *William Gifford*, [late editor of the Quarterly Review,] travelling *tutor* to the earl, had the sinecure of clerk of foreign estreats given him in 1799, 329*l.* Soon after he had 600*l.* given him in the *lottery office*. Since that, the sinecure of *paymaster of gentlemen pensioners*, 300*l.* This *travelling tutor* has already cost the public about 20,000*l.*—£4,479.

GUILDFORD, E. (*North*). High steward of Banbury; sinecure as chamberlain of exchequer, 1,755*l.*, which he has had for about *forty years*, and, of course, has received from it, 70,000*l.* principal money. In trust for the *daughter* of late earl of Guildford, a sinecure, (*comptroller of customs*), of 2,391*l.* enjoyed for many years. See *marquis of Bute*. This earl has cousins in the church, and the husbands of other cousins, and other relations, having, amongst them, *thirty-two* church benefices, some of which are worth more than 2,000*l.* each, and the whole of which are worth more than 20,000*l.* One of these clergymen, who is *master of St. Cross*, has even *livings in his gift*. One of this earl's sisters married lord *Glenbervie*, who has a pension, 1,000*l.* Another sister married lord *Balcarras*, whom see. Another, lord *Sheffield*.—£25,146.

GWYDIR, B. (*Burrell*). Great chamberlain of England, 3,000*l.* A son, lieutenant army, 350*l.* Brother-in-law to earl of *Beverley*, and to the duke of *Hamilton*, uncle to the duke of *Northumberland*, and to the marquis of *Exeter*, whom see.—£3,350.

HAMILTON. D. (*Hamilton*). Lord lieutenant [of Lanarkshire, 1,000*l.*]; colonel militia, 1,000*l.*; keeper of Holyrood house; late ambassador, 2,300*l.*—£4,300*l.*

HAMPDEN, V. (*Trevor Hampden*). His brother, Trevor, late foreign minister, 1,200*l.* Brother-in-law to Alexander *Hope*. See *Melville* and *Hopetown*.—£1,200.

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HARBOROUGH, E. (*Sherrard*). His daughter married a son of the earl of *Lonsdale*, whom see.

HARCOURT, E. (*Harcourt*). Governor of Portsmouth; master of horse to the late queen [Charlotte]; general army, and colonel of a regiment of horse, 3,000*l.* deputy lieutenant Windsor forest; deputy ranger Windsor great park, supposed worth, 1,200*l.*—£4,200. [Just dead.]

HARDWICKE, E. (*Yorke*). Lord lieutenant [of Cambridge], and high steward of Cambridge University, 3,000*l.* His brother, Charles, has a sinecure as teller of the exchequer, 2,700*l.* His brother, Joseph, an admiral, 800*l.*, and was lately a lord of the admiralty. This last has a son, a lieutenant navy, 200*l.* A relation (*Rattary*) a judge in India, 4,000*l.* Joseph is now married to a sister of the marquis of *Winchester*, whom see.—£10,700.

HAREWOOD, E. (*Lascelles*). [Lord lieutenant, West Riding of York, 1,000*l.*] His eldest son, lord *Lascelles* (son-in-law to *sir John Sebright*); has two *sons in the army*, who are merely young *shoots*, beginning to grow. Related to the *George Roses*, see these, under *Morton*.

HARRINGTON, E. (*Stanhope.*) Captain governor and constable of Windsor castle; a general in army, and colonel first life guards, 3,570*l.* His wife lady of bedchamber to late queen [Charlotte], 500*l.* His son, lord Petersham, lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l.*, and lieutenant colonel third West India Regiment. His son, B. Stanhope, a page of the king, 250*l.* A son, lieutenant colonel dragoons, 800*l.* Another son, deputy quarter master general, lieutenant colonel in army, and major of a regiment, 1,700*l.* Another son, two livings in church, 1,000*l.* This man married a daughter of Charles Wyndham, who is one of the greatest sinecure holders in the West Indies. See *Egremont*. The earl has another son captain of foot, 400*l.* The earl has a daughter married to the marquis of *Tavistock*, son of duke of *Bedford*, and another to the duke of *Leinster*. The earl is brother-in-law to lord *Sefton*,

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also to lord *Barrymore*, and to lord *Foley*, and uncle to the duke of *Newcastle*, whose widow mother married general *Charles Cranfurd*. See *Newcastle*.—£9,220. [Just dead.]

HARRIS, B. (*Harris*). A general in army; colonel 73rd regiment foot, 2,000*l*. A son, colonel in army; and lieutenant colonel 3rd foot, 800*l*. A son, *senior merchant* at Fort St. George, Madras. A son-in-law, two livings in church, 1,000*l*. *Mr. Lushington*, [now governor of Madras, 20,000*l*.] one of the *secretaries of the treasury*, is another son-in-law of this baron.—£23,800.

HARROWBY, E. (*Ryder*). High steward of Tiverton; president of council, 4,000*l*. His brother Richard was late secretary of state, and before that judge advocate general; he is now registrar of the consistory court, 2,000*l*. Thomas Ryder, a relation is a commissioner of excise, and accountant of salt duties, 702*l*.; this man is an *attorney*, and he is registrar of the Charter-house, 2,000*l*. Brother Henry, bishop of *Gloucester*, 3,200*l*. with the patronage of twenty-four livings, besides the archdeaconry of Gloucester.—£11,902.

HASTINGS, M. (*Rawdon*). General in army; colonel of a regiment of foot; governor of the tower; lord lieutenant of the tower hamlets, 2,400*l*. Governor general in India is stated at 25,000*l*.; but the East India company lately voted him 50,000*l*.—£27,400.

HAWKE, B. (*Hawke*.)

HEADFORT, M. (*Taylour*). Lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l*. His brother, general army, and lieutenant colonel 5th dragoons, 2,200*l*. Another brother, in the church, 1,000*l*. He is brother-in-law among the *Ponsonbys* and *Besboroughs*. He has a son married to a daughter of *earl Spencer*.—£4,200.

HEREFORD, V. (*Devereux*). A pension of 600*l*. granted in 1806; another pension granted, in conjunction with his wife, in 1810, 600*l*.—£1,200.

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HEREFORD, Bp. (*Huntingford*). Bishoprick, 7,680*l.*, with patronage of two archdeaconries, twenty-eight prebends, and thirty-eight livings.—£7,680.

HERTFORD, M. (*Ingram Conway Seymour*). Lord lieutenant of a county in England and one in Ireland; lord chamberlain of the household, 3000*l.* [The present marquis is warden of the duchy of Cornwall, and custos of Antrim.] Two of his brothers, Robert and Henry, sinecures, 16,033*l.* Another brother, George, a sinecure, 1,550*l.* They have had these for many years. He is brother-in-law of the marquis of *Londonderry*, and *uncle of lord Castlereagh*. He is brother-in-law to Lord Southampton. One of his sisters married a *Mr. Hatton*, which marriage has produced us *George Hatton*, examiner of excise, 850*l.* *Edward Finch Hatton*, commissioner of stamps, 1,000*l.* *G. F. Hatton*, gentleman usher 200*l.* a year; a major general in army, 800*l.* He had a brother, *Hugh*, who is dead, but he has left us a son, who is a *captain in the navy*, and who is also *sergeant at arms attending the house of lords*, 3,500*l.*, and this man married a cousin of the earl of Berkeley. Another son of brother Hugh, a lieutenant colonel in the foot guards, 800*l.*, married a daughter of the marquis of *Cholmondeley*, and this one is sergeant at arms to the house of commons, 2,500*l.* Another son of brother Hugh is captain in the life guards, 500*l.* A daughter of brother Hugh married a *Mr. Morier*, and we have Mr. *J. Morier*, secretary of embassy to Saxony, 1,073*l.*; and Mr. *D. H. Morier*, consul general at Paris, 1,672*l.* Another son of brother Hugh is a lieutenant of dragoons, 300*l.* A sister of the marquis married a son of the late Duke of Newcastle, whom see. Another sister is *Housekeeper at Hampton Court Palace*, 300*l.* See *Cholmondeley*, *Londonderry*, and *Drogheda*. The marquis's present wife is daughter of Viscount *Irwin*. Her nephew is a captain in the 10th dragoons, 500*l.*—£34,578.

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HILL, B. (*Hill*). A pension of 2,000*l.*; lieutenant general army; [now commander-in-chief, 3,000*l.*;] colonel of the 72nd regiment of foot; and governor of Hull, 2,500*l.* He has a brother in the church, one living, 500*l.* A brother-in-law in the church, four livings, 2,000*l.* A brother a captain in the horse guards, 600*l.* Another brother, a lieutenant colonel of marines, 700*l.* A relation, receiver general for Shropshire, 1,500*l.*—£12,800.

[HEYTESBURY, B. (*A. Court*). A new peer. Ambassador to the court of St. Petersburgh, £13,000. See Radnor.]

HOLLAND, B. (*Fox*). [A son, a colonel, married one of the Fitzclarences. A daughter, married the present lord Lilford, whom see.]

HOOD, V. (*Hood*). Father of Lord Bridport, who is a general of marines, 1,825*l.* which lord Bridport is son-in-law of lord Nelson. He has a son-in-law, sir F. Mason, post captain navy, 700*l.*—£2,525.

HOPETOWN, E. (*Hope*). [Lord lieutenant of Linlithgowshire, 1,000*l.*]; keeper of Lochmaben; major general army; colonel of the 92nd regiment, 2,000*l.* His brother, sir Alexander Hope, lieutenant general in the army, colonel of the 47th foot, 2,200*l.*, and governor of the royal military college, Berkshire, 1,500*l.* His brother, Charles, is lieutenant general in the army, 1,000*l.*; and lord president of the court of session, 4,300*l.*; and he is brother-in-law of *George Finch Hatton*, whom see under the marquis of Hertford. He is uncle to lord Melville; brother-in-law to *Alexander Maclean*, receiver general of land rents in Scotland, 1,600*l.*; and brother-in-law to sir Patrick Murray, baron in the exchequer of Scotland, 2,000*l.* He has a niece married to sir William Johnstone Hope, who is an admiral, 1,000*l.* Several other relations in army and navy.—£15,600.

HOME, E. (*Home*). Pension 800*l.*; lord lieutenant of the county of Berwick; colonel of the Berwick militia,

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see. A brother-in-law in the church, two livings, 1,000*l.* —£2,800.

HOWARD DE WALDEN, B. (*Ellis*). Lieutenant in the grenadier guards, 500*l.* Son of G. Rose Ellis, and related to lady Liverpool.—£500.

HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, B. (*Howard*). Major general army; colonel of 10th foot; lieutenant governor of Portsmouth, 3,000*l.* Brother-in-law of lord Roseberry.—£3,000.

[HOWE, E. (*Curson*). Lord chamberlain to the queen £2,000.]

HUNTINGDON, E. (*Hastings*). Lieutenant in the navy.—£200.

HUNLTEY, M. (*Gordon*). Lieutenant general in the army, and colonel of the 42nd foot, 2,000*l.* Lord lieutenant of the county of Aberdeen. Son of the duke of Gordon, whom see; see also, Manchester, Bedford, Richmond, Cornwallis.—£2,000.

HUTCHINSON, B. *Hutchinson*). General in the army, and colonel of 18th foot; governor of Stirling castle, 2,000*l.*; pension, 2,000*l.* See Donoughmore.—£4,000.

ILCHESTER, E. (*Strangeways*). Mother's pension, as lady of the bedchamber to the late queen [Charlotte], 500*l.* Brother, captain in the 7th dragoons, 500*l.* Sister, wife of captain Fielding of the navy, 700*l.* Another sister, wife of sir C. Cole, captain in the navy, 700*l.* Uncle, lieutenant colonel in the army, 700*l.* Another uncle, two livings in church, 1,000*l.*; whose eldest son is captain in the navy, 700*l.*; and his second son, a lieutenant of artillery. An aunt, wife of a Digby. See earl Digby. Cousin to *sir Thomas Ackland*, and nephew-in-law to the duke of *Athol*, whom see.—£4,800.

JERSEY, E. (*Villiers*). [Lord chamberlain 3,000*l.*] Son-in-law of the earl of Westmoreland; brother-in-law to the marquis of Anglesea, and the duke of Argyle, whom see. A brother-in-law in the church, 500*l.* [See Westmoreland.] £3,500*l.*

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KEITH, B. (*Elphinstone*). An admiral, 1,000*l*. His brother an East India director; his nephew, lord Elphinstone, a pension of 300*l*.; his four nieces, pensions, 600*l*. He has two nephews in India, one a judge, 4,000*l*. and the other resident in Bengal, 5,000*l*. He has a nephew major army, 700*l*. Another, cornet 7th dragoons, 300*l*.; another nephew, an admiral 1,000*l*.: a niece, wife of sir Pulteney Malcolm, an admiral, 1,000*l*.; and a sister wife of Adams, lord lieutenant of Kinross, baron of the exchequer, and chief commissioner of the jury court in Scotland. 4,000*l*. Whose eldest son is private Persian secretary in Bengal, president of the board of trade, and member of the supreme council, 10,000*l*.; another son, captain navy, 700*l*.; another son, sir J. Adam, major general in army, aid-de-camp to the king, and commander of the Ionian Isles, 4,000*l*.—£33,600.

KELLIE, B. (*Erksine.*)

KENYON, B. (*Kenyon.*) Sinecure, 930*l*. This is the half of a sinecure which he holds with *Richardson*, one of the twelve judges. His brother, a sinecure, 4,986*l*. A cousin, *Hanmer*, clerk of Nisi Prius, 358*l*.—£6,274.

KING, B. (*King.*) Son-in-law of Lord Fortescue, whom see.

KINNOUL, E. (*Hay Drummond*). Pension, 1,000*l*. Sinecure, lyon king of arms in Scotland, 600*l*. a year. Colonel of the Perth militia, 1,000*l*. He is brother-in-law to the bishop of Sodor and Mann. He has an uncle, chaplain to the king, with three livings, 1,500*l*. This last has a son, captain of foot, 400*l*.—£4,500.

KINGSTON, E. (*King*). Governor county of Cork, great patronage. A son, ensign in the 5th foot, 200*l*. A brother, lord Lawton, colonel of the Roscommon militia, 1,000*l*. Another brother, colonel in the army, groom of the bedchamber to the king, 1,200*l*. Another brother, with two church livings, 1,000*l*. Another brother, secretary of embassy to Wirtemberg, 1,500*l*. Another brother, captain in 1,000*l*. Son-in-law of the late duke of Buccleugh, whom

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navy, 700*l.*, who is son-in-law of the late archbishop of Dublin. A sister, wife of major general Morrison, 800*l.* —£6,400.

LAKE, V. (*Lake*). Lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l.*; Pension, 2,000*l.*; major general in the army, and colonel 60th foot, 2,000*l.* A brother, lieutenant in the army, 300*l.* An uncle, Warwick Lake, commissioner stamp office, 1,000*l.* He has a sister, wife of major Hervey. Another, wife of J. Ward Low, lieutenant colonel in the army, 1,400*l.* He is brother-in-law of lord Whitworth, whom see.—£7,300.

LANDAFF, Bp. *(Van Mildert)*. Living to the amount of 1,540*l.*, with twenty-six livings in his gift.—£1,540.

LANSDOWNE, M. *(Petty)*. [Late secretary of state for the home department; lord lieutenant of Wilts, 1,000*l.*] Brother-in-law of lord Ilchester, whom see.—£1,000.

LAUDERDALE, E. *(Maitland)*. A retired ambassador, the usual pension for which is 2,300*l.* A son, *Anthony*, a captain navy, 700*l.* A son, *John*, lieutenant colonel of a regiment, 800*l.* Brother, *Thomas*, a lieutenant general, a colonel of a regiment, and commander and governor in the Ionian Isles, 10,000*l.* A brother, *William*, a lieutenant general, 1,000*l.* Sister, wife of Sir W. *Houston*, who is a lieutenant general and colonel of a regiment, 2,200*l.* His niece, is wife of a *Hepburn*, whose father has a pension of 1,200*l.* Another *Hepburn*, (a female) pension of 100*l.* His uncle, *George*, an archdeacon, with other benefices in Ireland, 2,000*l.* A cousin, *John*, captain navy, 700*l.* Another cousin, lieutenant colonel in army, and inspector of militia in Ionian Isles, 2,000*l.* Uncle, *Alexander*, general army and colonel of regiment, 2,200*l.* A cousin, lieutenant general, colonel of a regiment, and governor of Grenada, 6,000*l.* The daughter of this man married a *Coke Marsham*, who has the livings of Kew and Petersham, 1,000*l.* A cousin of the earl, *sir Frederick*, a captain in navy, 700*l.* A relation, *sir Peregrine*, a lieutenant general, 1,000*l.* Another, (C. D.) lieutenant colonel artillery, 800*l.* Ano-

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ther, lieutenant colonel East Indies, 800*l.* Another, in India, captain of a regiment, 500*l.* There are several other *Maitlands*, whom we cannot bring home. The earl receives in trust for *six females*, of the name of *Hay*, pensions to the amount of 600*l.*—£36,600

LE DESPENSER, B. (*Stapleton*). A son, ensign in the 52nd foot, 200*l.* A daughter, wife of colonel *Pakenham*, son of lord Longford. A brother, lieutenant general in the army, 1,000*l.* A daughter, wife of lord *Jocelyn*, who is vice chamberlain to the king, and auditor of the treasury in Ireland, 2,940*l.* See Roden.—£4,140.

LEEDS, D. (*Osborne*). [Master of the horse, 3,000*l.*] Lord lieutenant North Riding of Yorkshire; governor Islands of Scilly; ranger of Richmond forest, and constable of Middleham castle, 5,000*l.* His son, coronet in 10th dragoons, 300*l.* A brother-in-law, in the 9th dragoons, 500*l.* A relation, a lord of the admiralty, 1,500*l.* with residence and perquisites; a pension, as retired ambassador, 1,700*l.* The duke is brother-in-law to lord Chichester, post master general, whom see. Being an heir of duke of Schomberg, 2,000*l.*—£14,000.

LEINSTER, D. (*Fitzgerald*). Governor and custos of the county of Kildare. Amount not known.

LITCHFIELD, Bp. (*Cornwallis*). Litchfield and Coventry, and dean of Durham, 9,590*l.* He has the patronage of 48 livings and other patronage. He is uncle to marquis Cornwallis. He has a nephew, Spencer Maden, four livings, and treasurer of the church of Litchfield, 3,000—£12,590.

LILFORD, B. (*Powys*). A brother, *Littleton*, with four livings, 2,000*l.* who married a niece of *John Hatsell*, clerk of the house of commons, a sinecure, about 15,000*l.* at least. Another brother, Frederick, in the church with two livings, 1,000*l.* A relation, T. Powys, dean of Canterbury, 1,000*l.* A sister, wife of the hon. rev. Bruce Stopford, c anon of Windsor, and a church living, 1,000*l.* A relation, Thomas Powys, captain in the coldstream guards, 500*l.*—£20,500.

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LIMERICK, E. *(Perry).* Clerk of the crown and hanaper, 1,700*l.* Son, coronet in the 6th dragoons, 300*l.* Brother-in-law of sir Vere Hunt, a sinecure in Ireland, and whose son is a captain in the army, 500*l.*—£2,500.

LINCOLN, Bp. (*Unknown.*) Bishoprick, 8,280*l.* with patronage of two archdeaconries, twenty-six prebends, thirty-six church livings, besides sacrists, and other things. —£8.280.

LINDSAY, E. (*Bertie*). A minor. An uncle with a living, £500.

LIVERPOOL, E. *(Jenkinson).* First lord of treasury, 6,000*l.* [This, it will be perceived was the late earl.] Commissioner for affairs of India; 1,500*l.*; warden of the Cinque Ports, 4,100*l.*; clerk of the Rolls in Ireland, 3,500*l.* Half brother, Cecil Cope Jenkinson, under secretary colonial and war department, 2,000*l.* His cousin, John Banks Jenkinson, dean of Worcester and two church livings, 2,000*l.* This man married a daughter of *Augustus Pechell*, receiver general of customs, 4,000*l.* One son of this Pechell is a judge in India, 4,000*l.* And another is a captain navy, 700*l.* A brother is a major general and gentleman usher to the late queen, and has a pension; and a son of this one is captain navy, 700*l.* A sister of the parson married captain H. Fanshaw, navy, 700*l.* Another sister of the parson, married a Mr. Cornwall, and has a pension of 250*l.* This earl is related to the bishop of Worcester, whom see. His wife is sister of the earl of Bristol, and his sister is wife of lord Verulam. See *Whitworth.* The *tutor* of this earl, *Dr. Ireland*, dean of Westminster, with two church livings, worth altogether 3 or 4,000*l.*—£33,450.

LONDONDERRY, M. *(Stewart).* Governor and custos of the counties of Down and Londonderry, brother-in-law of the marquis of Herlford and marquis of Camden, whom see. His son, lord *Castlereagh*, secretary of state, and commissioner of affairs of India, 7,500*l.* Colonel militia,

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1,000*l.* This man's missions to the continent cost immense sums. Another son, *lord Stewart*, [this is the present marquess; governor and custos of the counties of Down and Londonderry; a son a lord of the Admiralty,] is ambassador to Austria; and he has other rich things; but he will come in under his own name. A daughter married colonel Wood, colonel militia, 1,000*l.* Another daughter married Mr. *James*, who is secretary of legation at Munich, 1,300*l.* A relation, Sir *John Stewart*, pension, 2,086*l.* And Henry, late accountant-general, pension, 369*l.*—£13,255.

LONDON, Bp. *(Bloomfield)*. Bishop's money income, 10,200*l.* He has 95 livings, 28 prebends, and precenterships in his gift.—£10,200.

LONSDALE, E. *(Lowther)*. Lord lieutenant of two counties, [Cumberland and Westmoreland], and colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* His son, a lord of treasury, 1,600*l.* Commissioner affairs of India, 1,500*l.*; [and now chief commissioner of woods and forests, 3,000*l.*] Another son, lieutenant colonel 12th regiment foot, 800*l.* Son-in-law, *Becket*, late under secretary to *Sidmouth*, judge advocate general, 2,552*l.* The cousins of the earl are in employs in India, one a judge, and the other a collector, 5,400*l.* A relation, in the church, with three livings, 1,500*l.*—£14,352. See Westmoreland.

LOTHIAN, M. *(Kerr)*. Lord lieutenant [of Roxburghshire;] colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* As one of the heirs of the duke of Schomberg, 2,000*l.* One son, a lieutenant army, 400*l.* A brother, captain navy, 700*l.* Another brother, a major army, 600*l.* Two sisters (besides one under *Dormer*) with pensions of 200*l.* One of these married *Atherley*, late member for Southampton.—£4,900.

LONGFORD, E. *(Pakenham)*. Custos of the county of Westmeath. His sister is wife of *Duke Wellington*, whom see. His brother, lieutenant colonel army, and in the Portuguese service, 2,000*l.* Another brother, captain

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artillery, 600*l.* Henry in *holy orders*, but we cannot find where. An aunt of the earl, was a *Vandeleur* see *Drogheda*. An uncle, an admiral, and master general ordnance in Ireland, 4,200*l.* Two sons, in same office, 200*l.* Henry Stewart, who married a sister of the earl, is accountant general in Ireland, sinecure, 369*l.*—£7,369.

LUCAN, E. (*Bingham*). Governor of county of Mayor Son, an ensign 6th foot, 200*l.* Relation, Richard, a lieutenant general, 1,000*l.* Another, George, a colonel. Another, lieutenant colonel artillery, 1,500*l.* Other relations in the army.—£2,700.

LYNDOCH, B. (*Graham*). Pension, 2,000*l.* General army; colonel 90th regiment foot, 2000*l.* Wife, sister to *lord Cathcart*, whom see.—£4,000.

[LYNDHURST, B. (*Copley*). A new peer. Was king's solicitor general at the queen's trial; since attorney general; then master of the rolls; and now ord chancellor, 6,000*l.* besides immense patronage.—£6,000.]

LYTTLETON, B. (*Littleton*).

MACCLESFIELD, E. (*Parker*). Lord lieutenant [of Oxfordshire]. High steward of Henley; president of the board of agriculture; captain of the yeomen of the guard, 1,000*l.* His wife, lady of late queen's bedchamber, a pension, 500*l.* Daughter, wife of *lord Binning*, who is a commissioner of affairs of India, 1,500*l.* See *Westmoreland* £3,000.

MALMESBURY, E. (*Harris*). Lord lieutenant of Hampshire; a pension, 2,300*l.* His son, *Fitzharris*, a pension to begin when his father dies, 1,200*l.* This son is governor of the Isle of Wight, 1,379*l.* This son married the daughter of a *Dashwood;* and several of her brothers and cousins are *in the army.* Another son (Thomas) of the earl has two church livings, 1,000*l.* This Thomas married a daughter of *Markham*, the *dean of York*, who has besides, a great living in the church, both supposed worth 4,000*l.* The earl has a daughter, married to general

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sir G. L. Cole, brother of the *earl of Enniskellen*, whom see.—£8,679.

MANCHESTER, D. *(Montague)*. [Postmaster general, 2,500*l*.;] lord lieutenant of a county [Huntingdon,] colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. [Late] captain general and governor of Jamaica, 14,000*l*. Son William, major army, 600*l*. A daughter, married to marquis *Tweedale*, whom see. His brother Frederick, collector of customs, 2,780*l*. A sister of the duke married *duke Montrose*, whom see. The present duke married a daughter of *duke of Gordon*, whom see. £20,000.

MANNERS, B. *(Sutton)*. Cousin of the *duke of Rutland;* and brother of the late *archbishop of Canterbury*, lord chancellor of Ireland, 20,000*l*., supposed; there is no telling exactly what it is, but we know, that the *retired* chancellor, Redesdale, has a *pension* of 4,000*l*. a year; and that another, the late *G. Ponsonby*, had the same. A sister married a son of the earl of *Beverley*, whom see. Another sister married a *Lockwood*, who has three church livings, 1,500*l*. This baron first married a *Copley*, and next a sister of lord *Glengal*.—£21,500. [Just dead.]

MANSFIELD, E. (*Murray*). Lord lieutenant of a county [Clackmannanshire;] keeper of the palace of Scone. The *countess Mansfield*, his mother, was ranger of Richmond Park; she married *Richard Fulk Greville*. This brought us Robert Fulk, ranger of Richmond Park: 600*l*. Also Cavendish Fulk Greville, a clerk extra of privy council, 419*l*. Also a Charles Greville, secretary of Tobago, and naval officer of Demarara, 1,750*l*. This earl has a brother, a lieutenant colonel of dragoons, 800*l*.—£3,569.

MANVERS, E. (*Pierrepont*). Captain navy, 700*l*. His brother is married to one of the *Bentincks*, see *Portland*, Another brother married a daughter of a *Brown;* and there is a Mr. *Brown* who has little sinecures to the amount of 659*l*. And *four women* of the name of *Brown*,

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who have, amongst them, pensions to the amount of 200*l.* The earl's brother is envoy at Stockholm, 3,200*l.*—£4,759.

MARLBOROUGH, D. (*Spencer Churchill*). Pension, 5,000*l.*; high steward of Oxford and Woodstock; married a sister of the earl of *Galloway*, whom see. He has a son, a captain 25th foot, 400*l.* His sister married a *Edward Nares*, who has a living in the church, 500*l.* His uncle Charles, lord of bedchamber, 1,000*l.*; and has a pension of 1,200*l.* The duke's sister is wife of the *Earl of Shaftesbury*, chairman of the committees of the *House of lords*. —£8,100*l.*

[MARYBOROUGH, B (*Pole*). A new peer. Brother of the duke of Wellington. Governor and custos of Queen's county, 1,000*l.*; master of the staghounds, 3,000*l.* A brother, a dean, 2,000*l.* See Wellington, Wellesley, and Cowley.—£6,000.]

[MAYNARD, V. (*Maynard*). Lord lieutenant for the county of Essex, 1,000*l.*]

MAYO, E. (*Bourke*). His brother is *bishop* of Waterford, 6,000*l.* Another brother, an Irish *dean*, 2,000*l.* Which dean has a son in the army. Another brother, in the Irish church. A sister of the earl married *Sotheby*, an admiral, 1,000*l.* Another sister married a *Browne*, (see Sligo). Another married a *Hale*. There are two *Brownes*, and one *Hale*, in the pension list. The earl married a daughter of W. M. *Praed*; and there is a W. M. *Praed*, who is, and long has been, auditor of public accounts, 1,500*l.* A brother of this *Praed* is a captain navy, 700*l.* This earl's relation, *Robert Fowler*, is bishop of Ossory, 4,000*l.* —£15,200.

MELBOURNE, V. (*Lamb*). Lord of bedchamber, 1,000*l.*; a pension of 1,500*l.* A son, minister to Bavaria, 5,300*l.* [This is the present viscount, late chief secretary for Ireland.] A son married a daughter of lord *Besborough*, whom see.—£7,800.

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[MELROSE, B. (*Hamilton*). A new peer. Late lord Binning. A personal friend of *Canning*].

MELVILLE, V. (*Dundas*), First lord of admiralty, 5,000*l.* His mother, late lady of queen's bedchamber, 500*l.* He is keeper of privy seal, 3,107*l.*; he is keeper of the signet, 2,069*l.*; registrar of seisins, 2,269*l.* His cousin, W. Dundas, governor of Chelsea hospital, 500*l.* Another relation, George Dundas, commissioner of Bombay, 4,000*l.* David Dundas, a pension, 300*l.*; and David's *five children*, pensions, 300*l.*—£18,776.

MIDDLETON, V. *(Broderick)*. Lord lieutenant of Surrey. His brother Charles, Archbishop of Cashel, 11,000*l.* His brother *William*, pension, 1,200*l.* His brother *John*, a lieutenant general army, 1,000*l.* The viscount married a *Pelham*, see *Chichester* and *Newcastle*. His niece married a captain Maude, navy, 700*l.* Another into the *Bernard* family, which see.—£13,900.

MIDDDETON, B. *(Willoughby)*. Steward of Colefield. A cousin to this lord, captain navy.—£700*l.*

MINTO, E. *(Elliot Murray Kynnynmound)*. Pension, 1,200*l.*; which his father had before him. This earl married the daughter of *Patrick Bydone*, and he was late comptroller of Stamps, pension, 400*l.* He has a brother, captain navy, 700*l.* Another brother married a *Cassamajor*; and this has brought us *L. D. Cassamajor*, secretary of embassy in Russia, 2,000*l.*; and two *Cassamajors* in India, with salaries amounting to about 6,000*l.*—£10,300.

MONSON, B. *(Monson)*. A minor. [The newspapers have lately asserted, that this peer has given the enormous sum of 195,000*l.* for the rottenest of all rotten boroughs, Old Sarum.]

MONTAGU, B. *(Scott)*. [Lord lieutenant of Selkirkshire.] Brother to the duke of *Buccleugh*, 1,000*l.*, whom see.

MONTFORD, B. *(Bromley)*. Pension, £800.

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MONTROSE, D. *(Graham)*. [Late lord chamberlan,] Lord lieutenant of a county [of two: Dumbartonshire, and Stirlingshire] colonel militia, 1,000*l*. Master of horse to the king and lord justice general of Scotland, 3,266*l*. He is brother in-law of duke of *Manchester*, whom see. He has a daughter married to a *Hatton*. (See *Hertford)*. Another married a *Powis*, which see. He is related to the duke of *Rutland*, whom see.—£4,266.

MORAY, E. *(Stuart)*. Lord lieutenant of a county, [Elgin and Moray, 1,000*l*.] Captain army, 500*l*. Brother-in-law of Mr. *Canning*, and of duke of *Portland*, whom see.—£1,500.

MORLEY, E. *(Parker)*. Married a daughter of the earl of *Westmoreland*, whom see. Colonel militia, 1,000*l*. He is cousin of lord *Grantham* and of Mr. *Robinson*, treasurer of the navy, and president of the board of trade; see *Grantham* [and *Goderich*.] His sister married *George Villiers*, who has large sinecures. See *Clarendon*.—£1,000.

MOUNTCASHEL, E. *(Moore)*. A son, captain foot guards, 500*l*. His uncle married an *Odell*, and there is a *Wm. Odell*, with a pension, 500*l*.—£1,000.

MOUNT EDGECUMBE, E. *(Edgecumbe)*. Lord lieutenant and vice admiral of a county, [Cornwall,] and high steward of Plympton. He is brother-in-law of lord *Castlereagh*, and of lord *Buckinghamshire*, whom see. He has a son lieutenant grenadier guards.—£400.

MORTON, E. (*Douglas*). Lord lieutenant of a county and colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. He was lord chamberlain to the late queen. His wife was a *Buller*. One Buller is a commissioner of bankrupts, and one a commissioner of customs. He is cousin of George H. Rose, who has (as his father had for more than twenty years before him) a sinecure of 3,300*l*. as clerk of the parliaments, and who is also minister at Berlin, 5,500*l*. and whose brother, *William Rose*, has (and long has had) a sinecure of 2,137*l*.—£11,937.

MULGRAVE, E. (*Phipps*)—Lord lieutenant and vice

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admiral of a Riding of Yorkshire. Governor of Scarborough castle. A general army and colonel of a regiment, 3,200*l.* He married a *Maling*. There are *four Malings* in the army. One, a captain navy, 700*l.*; *this is a brother-in-law* of the earl. *Robert Ward*, who married a sister of the earl's wife, is clerk of the ordnance, 1,914*l.* and *his wife*, has a pension of 1,000*l.* for life, to commence as soon as her husband shall cease to hold an office under government. The earl's brother, *Edmund*, a lieutenant general in army, colonel commander 60th regiment foot, and clerk of deliveries in the ordnance, 2.740*l.* The earl's brother, *Augustus*, commissioner excise in England, and deputy paymaster Gibraltar, 1.797*l.* A sister of the earl, married viscount *Dillon*. The earl's niece married a *Murray*, who is a lieutenant colonel of a West Indian regiment, 700*l.*—£11,051.

NAPIER, B. (*Napier*). Lord lieutenant of a county. Lord high commissioner of the church of Scotland, 1,000*l.* Lady Napier has a pension of 200*l.* Lady Napier's *children*, 350*l.* *Three female* Napiers, 324*l.* Lady Sarah, 386*l.* *Two other female* Napiers, 162*l.* The lord has a son, captain navy, 700*l.* A daughter, married a *Kilvington*, who has a living in the church, 500*l.* Another son, a lieutenant in the army, 400*l.* Another, a lieutenant of marines, 400*l.* —£4,572.

NELSON. E. (*Nelson*). Pensions, 5,000*l.* Interest of money granted to purchase an estate, 5,000*l.* The earl is a prebendary of Canterbury, 700*l.* The late earl's wife, 2,000*l.* Two sisters of the present earl, 500*l.* each. The earl married a *Yonge*, who has several relations in the church. His daughter has married lord *Bridport*, who is a general of marines, 1,825*l.*—£15,025.

NEWCASTLE, D. (*Pelham Clinton*). Lord lieutenant of a county [Nottingham]; steward and keeper of Sherwood forest and park of Folewood; and high steward of Retford. His mother, a pension, 1,000*l.* Her second husband, *C.*

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Craufurd, a lieutenant general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, and lieutenant governor of Teignmouth castle, 3,000*l*. This man (or his brother) has a pension of 1,200*l*. The present duchess's brother, *George Munday*, captain navy, 700*l*. Another of her brothers, a major general, 800*l*. There are two other Mundays army. The duke's cousin, W. Clinton, lieutenant general and colonel of a regiment 2,200*l*. Another cousin a lieutenant general and colonel of a regiment, 2,200*l*. A cousin, married a *Roddham*, who is an admiral, 1,000*l*. A female cousin, marred a *Dawkins*, who is a commissioner of land revenue, 1,300*l*. A brother of this Dawkins, commissioner for auditing public accounts, 1,200*l*. Another of these Dawkins's, secretary of legation in Tuscany, 1,500*l*. Another Dawkins, captain guards, 500*l*. Another, a captain guards, 500*l*. Another Dawkins is on half-pay. A *Fynes*, a cousin of the duke, is a prebendary of Westminster. Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, has another church living, 2,500*l*. This man's son, who is member for Aldborough, is a barrister, and is *something* in the college of Christ-church, Oxford.—£19,700.

NORFOLK, D. *(Howard)*. [Premier peer, and earl marshal of England. A great boroughmonger.]

NORTHAMPTON, E. *(Compton)*. Lord lieutenant. A relation of the late *Perceval* and of lord *Arden*, whom see. There is a *J. Woodfield Compton*, with a pension of 1,000*l*.—£1,000.

NORTHUMBERLAND, D. *(Percy)*. A lord lieutenant and vice admiral of Northumberland, and constable of Launceston castle, [and now lord lieutenant of Ireland, with a salary of 30,000*l*. a year.] He is son-in-law of earl *Powis*, whom see. See also *Lilford*. He is brother-in-law to a son of the duke of Athol. His brother, a captain navy, and now created lord *Prudhoe* by *the late king*, [George IV.] This duke is a nephew of the earl of *Beverley*.

NORTHWICK, B. *(Rushout)*. Two relations in the

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church, *Rushout* and *Bowles*, with three livings, 1,500*l.*—£1,500*l.*

NORWICH, Bp. *(Bathurst)*. His bishoprick, 8,370*l.* besides four archdeaconries, an hospital, and about forty livings in his gift. This man is brother-in-law to lord Castlecoote (an Irish lord) who is related to the *Bagwells*, who have large sinecures. He is uncle of lord *Bathurst*, (whom see), and a relation of *Bragge Bathurst*. See *Sidmouth*. A relation of the bishop, is an archdeacon, and has two church livings, 1,500*l.*—£9,870.

O'NEIL, E. (*O'Neil.*) Colonel of militia and joint paymaster in Ireland, 2,500*l.* This earl's aunt, married a *Jackson*, and we have a F. J. Jackson, late foreign minister, 1,700*l.* Two distributors of stamps, 1,272*l.* One, late minister Sardinia, 800*l.* One, commissioner excise, 800*l.* The earl's brother, is a colonel in army and captain guards, 500*l.*—£7,572.

ONSLOW, E. *(Onslow)*. Out ranger Windsor great park.

ORFORD, E. *(Walpole)*. Colonel militia, 1,000*l.* A son, high steward of Lynn ; secretary of embassy and plenipotentiary in Russia, 1,800*l.* Another son, a captain navy, 700*l.* Another, a colonel in army and captain guards, 500*l.* He has a daughter, married to captain Host, navy, 700*l.* The earl's sister married a *Peyton*, who has four livings in the church, 2,000*l.*—£6,700.

[ORIEL, B. (*Foster*). A new peer. Governor of the county of Louth.]

ORMOND, M. *(Butler)*. [Custos and governor of Kilkenny.]

OXFORD, E. (*Harley*).

OXFORD, Bp. *(Legge)*. Bishoprick, 3,500*l.* Uncle of earl of *Dartmouth*, whom see. He has the impropriation of Iffey, and the gift of an archdeaconry and eleven livings. —£3,500.

PEMBROKE, E. (*Herbert*). Lord lieutenant of a

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county; high steward of Salisbury; governor of Guernsey; lieutenant general in army and colonel of regiment of dragoons,—£3,200.

PETERBOROUGH, Bp. *(Marsh)*. Bishoprick, 4,140*l*. with an archdeaconry, six prebends, and thirteen livings in his gift. This bishop had a *pension* granted him by the kings's sign manual, in 1804, of 514*l*. And this was done after he had written and published a *political pamphlet*, called "*French Aggression*," to prove that the French *made war upon us*, and not we upon them, 1793. It also urged the necessity of *vigorously carrying on the war*.—£4,654.

PETRE, B. (*Petre*). A catholic.

[PLUNKET, B. (*Conyngham Plunket*). A new peer. Late attorney general, and now chief justice of the court of common pleas for Ireland, £8,000.]

PLYMOUTH, E. (*Windsor*). His mother married *lord Amherst*, whom see.

POMFRET, E. (*Fermor*).

PONSONBY, B. (*Ponsonby*) Envoy extraordinary to Rio de la Plata, £6,000.

PORTLAND, D. (*Bentinck*). [Late president of the council.] Lord lieutenant of Middlesex. A son, a coronet of dragoons, 300*l*. Another son, a lieutenant foot, 200*l*. A brother, William Henry, lieutenant general, a colonel of dragoons, envoy to Sicily, and clerk of the pipe, 2,468*l*. Another brother, treasurer household, 1,200*l*. This last is a son-in-law of *marquis Wellesley*, whom see. The brother, William, [appointed governor general of India, 25,000*l*., under Canning's administration] married a daughter of *lord Gosford*, whom see. Another brother of the duke, a colonel in the army and lieutenant colonel in the foot guards, 800*l*. A sister, married a *Grenville;* see *Mansfield* and *Warwick*. A cousin of this duke, married sir William *Milner*. The duke is brother-in-law of *George Canning*, who is president of the board of control, 6,000*l*.

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and clerk of the hanaper, 600*l.* [He has been chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. His wife is now viscountess Canning.] This man had 14,000*l.* as ambassador to Portugal. *Stratford Canning* is a foreign minister, 4,700*l.* with service of plate and outfit. This George Canning's *mother* (whose name is now *Hunn*) and his *sister*, have a pension of 500*l.*, with reversion to the survivor.—£23,768,

PORTSMOUTH, E. (*Wallop*).

POULETT, E. *(Poulett)*. Lord lieutenant: colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* A son, captain navy, and receiver general of taxes for Somerset, 2,000*l.* A niece of this earl married *lord Nugent*, son of marquis of *Buckingham*. See the *Grenvilles*. The father of this earl married a *Butt*, and we have a *Butt* on the pension list.—£3,000*l.*

POWIS, E. *(Clive)*. Lord lieutenant of two counties, [Shropshire and Shrewsbury] and recorder of Shrewsbury. His eldest son married a daughter of *duke of Montrose*, whom see. Another son, a lieutenant colonel army, 700*l.* A daughter married to sir *W. W. Wynn*. See *Buckingham*. His other daughter is wife of *duke of Northumberland*, whom see.—£700.

PRUDHOE, B. *(Percy)*. Sole brother of the duke of Northumberland, who has recently got this, a *second peerage*, in his family. This one is a captain navy, £700.

QUEENSBURY, M. *(Douglas)*. [Lord lieutenant of Dumfermline].

RADNOR, E. (*Bouverie*). Lord lieutenant of a county; recorder of Salisbury; and high steward of Wallingford. A son, a captain navy, 700*l.* A son, and two nephews with four livings in the church, 2,000*l.* A nephew a colonel in army, and lieutenant colonel foot guards, and an aid-de-camp to the king, 1,200*l.* Another lieutenant colonel in army, and major of the 60th foot, 700*l.* The earl's brother head commissioner stamps, 1,000*l.* His brother Edward,

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commissioner of navy, 1,000*l.* A sister of the earl married an *A'Court*, and a son of the earl married a daughter of this man; and this man's son is minister at Naples, 5,400*l.* There are two Bouveries placed in Ireland.—£12,000. [See Heytesbury.]

[RAVENSWORTH, B. (*Liddell*). A new peer].

REDESDALE, B. (*Mitford*). Pension, 4,000*l.* A brother-in law of *lord Arden*, whom see. A nephew commissioner of inquiry, and of bankrupts in Ireland, 1,000*l.*; and vicar general of Kildare, 500*l.* This one has several other places.—£5,500. [Just dead].

RIBBLESDALE, B. (*Lister*). Colonel Cavan legion. This man is nearly related to *Hulton* the *Manchester magistrate*.

RICHMOND, D. (*Lennox*). Major army, 500*l.*; pension, 6,339*l.* His sister is wife of sir P. *Maitland*, (see Lauderdale). His brother, J. G., a major army, 500*l.* His brother, W. Pitt Lennox, a lieutenant horse guards, 400*l.* His brother, F. ensign foot, 200*l.* This duke's mother is a daughter of the *duke of Gordon*, and this Duke's wife a daughter of the *marquis of Anglesea*, both of whom see.—£7,939.

RIVERS, B. (*Pitt*). He was a lord of bedchamber for a great many years, but does not appear to be one now. A relation, *Dame Mary Pitt*, has pensions of 750*l.* See *Chatham*.—£750.

ROCHESTER, Bp. (*King*). Bishoprick, 5,400*l.*, with an archdeaconry, a prebend, and 21 livings in his gift. This bishop is *receiver general of land tax* for London and Middlesex. It may be worth 2,000*l.* perhaps.—£7,400.

ROCHFORD, E. (*Nassau*).

RODEN, E. (*Jocelyn*). [A lord of bedchamber, 1,000*l.*] Custos of the county of Louth; auditor of the Irish exchequer, 1,784*l.*; searcher and gauger port of Galway, 2,380*l.* His son (Lord Jocelyn) is an auditor of the treasury; and vice chamberlain to the king, 2,940*l.* His brother is bishop

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of Ferns, in Ireland, 6,000*l.* Lord Jocelyn married a daughter of *lord le Despencer.*—£14,104.

RODNEY, B. (*Rodney*). Lord Lieutenant of a county [Radnor;] and colonel of militia, 1,000*l.* pension, 2,923*l.* A brother, captain guards, 500*l.* Another, deputy assistant commissary general, 300*l.* Two brothers, captains navy, 1,400*l.*—£6,123.

ROLLE, B, (*Rolle*). Lord lieutenant; and colonel of militia, 1,000*l.*; recorder of Torrington.—£1,000.

ROMNEY, E. (*Marsham*). His brother is a canon of Windsor; a prebend of Rochester, and has three livings in the church, 3,000*l.*—£3,000*l.*

ROSEBERY, E. (*Primrose*). Son-in-law of earl of *Radnor.* See Radnor and Bouverie. His sister married a son of *Shepherd* late attorney general, and now lord chief baron of Scotland, 4,000*l.* The son of this Shepherd is in some lucrative office.—£4,000.

ROSSE, E. (*Parsons*). Custos and governor of king's county.

ROSSLYN, E. (*Rosslyn*). [Lord lieutenant of Fife, and lord privy seal, 4,000*l*]. A general in army and colonel dragoons, 2,300*l.* Director of court of chancery in Scotland, 1,712*l.* The earl's *children* are a *clerk* in chancery, 925*l.* His *sister* has two *pensions*, 100*l.* Married a cousin of the earl of *Radnor*, whom see.—£5,400.

ROUS, B. *(Rous).* Has a son a captain of foot, 400*l.* Another son, an ensign guards, 300*l.* Another son, a captain navy, 700*l.* The lord has a brother-in-law, Birch, governor of Candanajore, in India, 5,000*l.*—£6,400.

RUTLAND, *(Manners.)* Lord lieutenant of Leicester, recorder of Cambridge and Scarborough. His brother, Charles, a lieutenant general army, colonel of a regiment, and aid-de-camp to the king, 2,500*l.* His brother, Robert, is lieutenant colonel of horse, and equrry to the king, 1000*l.* See *Canterbury* and *Manners.* There is a *George Manners*, who calls himself a *relation* of the duke, who

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was about three years ago, made consul at Boston, in America, by lord *Castlereagh*, and whose post is worth (2,000*l*). £3,500.

ST. ALBAN'S, D. *(Beauclerk.)* Hereditary grand falconer to the king, 1,372*l*. 10*s*. [Hereditary registrar in the court of chancery, 640*l*.—2,012*l*. 10*s*.]

ST. GERMAINS, E. *(Elliott)*. Brother-in-law of *lord Hardwicke*, whom see. [His son, lord Elliot, lord of treasury, 1,120*l*.]

ST. HELENS, B. *(Fitzherbert)*. Lord of the king's bedchamber, 1,000*l*.—£1,000.

ST. JOHN, B. *(St. John)*. a minor. This lord's mother's father is sir C. W. B. *Boughton*, and he is a commissioner for auditing public accounts, 1,200*l*.—£1,200.

ST. VINCENT, E. *(Jarvis)*. An admiral, general marines, 1,500*l*. Pension, 3,000*l*., and another of 1,083*l*. His relations, Mrs. *Ricketts*, and Miss *Ricketts*, receive, the former, 411*l*. and the latter, 103*l*. 10*s*. He is uncle to the earl of Northesk, who is an admiral, 1,000*l*., and who has a son, a colonel army, and a major in the 110th regiment, 500*l*.—£7,597. 10*s*.

SALISBURY, M. *(Cecil)*. Lord lieutenant of the county of Hertford. Joint Postmaster general, 2,500*l*. He is high steward of Hertford. He is father-in-law of sir Henry Wellesley, the brother of the duke of Wellington. His son, lord Cranbourne, is a commissioner for the affairs of India, 1,500*l*., and colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. A daughter of the marquis married *lord Westmeath*. He has a son in the 10th dragoons, 400*l*.—£6,400. [See Cowley.]

SALISBURY, Bp. *(Fisher)*. His bishoprick, 14,420*l*. with 40 livings and 35 prebends, in his gift.—£14,420.

SANDWICH, E. *(Montagu)*. A minor.

SALTOUN, B. *(Fraser)*. Lieutenant colonel army, and captain grenadier guards, 500*l*. Four women and men, relations, have 1,400*l*. on the pension list. Another deputy

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provost marshal in Jamaica, 1,544*l.* Two other females, 200*l.* pensions.—£3,644.

SAY AND SEALE, B. *(Twistleton).* A brother a government *chaplain in Ceylon*, 500*l.*, and has two church livings, in *England*, 1,000*l.*—£1,500.

SCARBOROUGH, E. *(Saunderson).* Lieutenant colonel army, 500*l.* His brother, William, is a groom of bedchamber, 500*l.* This brother, is a lieutenant general in army and colonel of West India rangers, was lately governor of Bermuda, 1,500*l.* The earl has a brother a prebend, with two church livings, 1,500*l* —£4,000.

SCARSDALE, B. *(Curzon).* A son, a major in army, and captain of horse, 700*l.* Another son, an ensign of foot, 200*l.* A brother, an admiral, 1,000*l.* Another brother, a living in the church, 500*l.*—£2,400.

[SEAFORD, B. *(Ellis).* A new peer. Another of Canning's friends. Either this lord or his brother was second to Canning in a duel with Castlereagh, whom Canning clandestinely endeavoured to remove from the office of foreign secretary, on the ground of incapacity for fulfilling its duties].

SELSEY, B. *(Peachey).* A captain navy, 700*l.* A brother with three livings in the church, and a relation with one, 2,000*l.* A sister, daughter-in-law to archbishop of *York*, whom see.—£2,700.

SHAFTESBURY, E. *(Cooper).* Chairman of the committees of the house of lords, probably 3,000*l.* Brother-in-law to the duke of *Marlborough*, whom see. His relations, auditors of land revenue, sinecure, 3,421*l.*—£6,421.

SHANNON, E. *(Boyle).* Custos of the county of Cork. A sinecure in Ireland, 3,500*l.*—£3,500.

SHEFFIELD, E. *(Holroyd).* His wife is a sister of lord *Guildford*, whom see. Brother-in-law of earl of *Chichester*, whom see. A relation, consul general in America, worth £3,000.

SHERBORNE, E. *(Dutton).* Brother-in-law, captain

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navy, 700*l.* The earl is son-in-law of lord *Stawell*, whom see. Two relations, in the army.—£700.

SHREWSBURY, E. (*Talbot*). A catholic.

SIDMOUTH, V. (*Addington*). Ranger of Richmond Park, where he has the palace built for the king's aunt, princess Amelia. Recorder of Devizes, and high steward of Westminster. Late secretary of state for the home department, and a commissioner for India affairs, 7,500*l.* His son has a sinecure of 3,000*l.*, which he has had for 17 years, and, of course, has received from it 51,000*l.* principal money. His nephew, Unwin Addington, is a secretary of legation, 1,500*l.* He is brother-in-law of *Goodenough* bishop of *Carlisle*, whom see. He is brother-in-law of *Bragge Bathurst*, who is chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 4,525*l.*, besides great patronage. A sister of the viscount married a *Hoskins*, and there is a clerk in his own office, named *Hoskins*. This salary may be 500*l.* perhaps. The viscount has also a relation in the *navy*. There are several Hoskinses in the church.—£17,025.

SINCLAIR, B. (*Sinclair*). A son in army, lieutenant, 200*l.* There are many Sinclairs on the pension list. His relation, *lord Caithness*, is post master general in Scotland, 2,000*l.*; he is also a lord lieutenant; and the *countess Caithness* has pensions, 300*l.*—£2,500.

[SKELMERSDALE, B. (*Bootle Wilbraham*). A new peer. Late treasury member for Dover. One son in army. One of his daughters is married to G. S. Stanley, M.P., eldest son of lord Stanley, and grandson of the earl of Derby.]

SLIGO, M. (*Browne*). Custos and colonel militia, county of Mayo, 1,000*l.* His uncle, *Dennis Browne*, a commissioner for issue of money in Ireland, 1,200*l.* His cousin, Peter *Browne*, dean of Ferns, with other benefices, 2,000*l.* A relation, a page to lord lieutenant of Ireland 200*l.* There are many other *Brownes*, but being on the Irish establishment, we cannot come at their emoluments. This

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marquis is son-in-law of *sir William Scott*; see *Eldon*! £4,400. [See Stowell.]

SOMERS, B. *(Cocks)*. Lord lieutenant [of Hereford]. He is cousin of two admirals, 2,000*l*. He is connected by marriage with the *Yorkes*; see *Hardwicke*.—£2,000.

SOMERSET, D. *(Seymour)*.

SONDES, B. *(Watson)*. He has a brother in the dragoons, 300*l*. His father-in-law (mother's husband) a lieutenant general in army, 1,000*l*.—£1,300.

SOUTHAMPTON, B. *(Fitzroy)*. A minor. See *Grafton* and *Hertford*.

SPENCER, E. *(Spencer)*. Married a *Bingham*, see *Lucan*. The earl has a son, captain navy, 700*l*. His daughter married a son of the marquis of *Headfort*, whom see.—£700.

STAFFORD, M. *(Gower)*. Recorder of Stafford. Lord lieutenant of a county in Scotland, [Sutherlandshire]. His wife is down in the pension list laid before parliament in 1808, for 300*l*. [A son, Leveson Gower, now secretary at war, 4,000*l*]. His brother-in-law, M'Donald, has a pension of 3,300*l*. His nephew has a sinecure of 350*l*. He has a cousin, an admiral, 1,000*l*. The marquis's brother has lately been *made a peer*, see *Granville*. See *archbishop of York, duke of Beaufort* and *lord Harrowby*, who are his brothers-in-law.—£4,950.

STAIR, E. *(Dalrymple)*. The countess of Dumfries and Stair has a pension of 300*l*. There are many Dalrymples, female as well as male, on the pension list.—£300.

STAMFORD, E. *(Grey)*. Lord lieutenant of a county, [Chester]. A brother, a golden prebend of Durham, with other church preferment, 3,000*l*. A relation with a living in the church, worth about 1,500*l*. The earl is first cousin of the *duke of Portland*, whom see.—£4,500.

STANHOPE, E. *(Stanhope)*. Two sinecures, keeper of records in a tower in *Ireland* and *surveyor of green wax*

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in the exchequer in *England*, 895*l*. His sister, lady Hester Stanhope, a pension of 1,200*l*. Another sister, lady Griselda *Tekell*, a pension of 600*l*. and he has a place of 354*l*. A relation of this *Tekell* has three sinecures to the amount of 819*l*. Another sister of the earl, lady Lucy *Taylor*, a pension of 600*l*. The earl has a brother, a lieutenant colonel and captain of the guards; is a groom of the bedchamber; and has a pension of 600*l*. There is another Stanhope, Miss Caroline, with a pension of 500*l*. The earl is son-in-law of lord *Carrington*, and is related to the *Grenvilles*.—£5,568.

STAWELL, B. (*Legge*). A sinecure in the customs, patent surveyor, £3,000.

STEWART. B. (*Stewart*). [This is the present marquis of Londonderry.] A lord of the bedchamber, 1,000*l*. Lieutenant general in army, and colonel of a regiment of horse, 2,000*l*. Ambassador at Vienna, 12,000*l*. *Brother of lord Castlereagh*, and has lately been *made a peer*. Brother-in-law of *Camden*, whom see.—£15,000.

STOURTON, B. (*Stourton*). A catholic.

[STOWELL, B. (*Scott*.) A new peer. Was judge of the admiralty, and has a retired pension, 4,000*l*.; brother-in-law of lord Eldon, and father-in-law of the marquis of Sligo, whom see.]

[STRANGFORD, B. (*Sydney Smythe*). A new peer Late ambassador at Constantinople, *l*.]

STRATHMORE, E. (*Bowes*). A minor.

SUFFIELD, B. (*Harboard*). Lord lieutenant of a county; brother-in-law of *lord Castlereagh*. See *Londonderry* and *Buckinghamshire*.

SUFFOLK AND BERKS, E. (*Howard*). There are several families of the name of *Howard*, so that it is impossible to place the emoluments with certainty to the proper persons; if the whole under the name of Howard could be traced, its amount would be very great.

[STUART DE ROTHSAY, B. (*Stuart*). A new peer.

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Ambassador at Paris, 12,000*l.*; cousin of the marquess of Bute, whom see].

SYDNEY, V. *(Townshend).* Ranger of St. James's and Hyde parks, 1,732*l.* His mother, a pension, 500*l.* His daughter, is housekeeper at Windsor castle, 320*l.* and perquisites. He has a brother, a lieutenant colonel in army, and captain grenadier guards, 700*l.* He has, in trust for four *female* cousins, named *Selwyn*, pensions of 400*l.* He married a *Clements*, which makes him brother-in-law to *lord Leitrim*, who is custos of two counties in Ireland, colonel of militia, port searcher of Dublin, 1,987*l.* in *money*, besides patronage. A *Clements*, a brother of Leitrim, has in Irish compensation, 1,200*l.*; and is colonel of Donegal militia, 1,000*l.* Another brother, a *joint packer*, 987*l.*, and is major in grenadier guards, 500*l.* Jane Catherine Clements, a relation, has a pension of 600*l.* Another *Clements*, is lieutenant colonel of dragoons. The *Selwyn*, father or uncle of the above girls, is a prebend of Gloucester, and has a living in the church, 1,500*l.*—£11,426.

TALBOT, E. *(Chetwynd Talbot.)*. Lord lieutenant of a county [Stafford.] Lord lieutenant of Ireland, 30,000*l.* His brother fills several offices in Ireland, dean of the chapel, private secretary, &c. probably, 5,000*l.* Another relation, dean of Salisbury and a living in the church, 1,500*l.* Another, a paymaster of the king's household, 500*l.* Another, late secretary to embassy and surveyor of hearths in Ireland, 850*l.* His brothers-in-law, *Lambart,* steward of the household in Ireland, and another a chaplain to the lord lieutenant. His cousin, lord *Chetwynd*, clerk of the council in England, 2,500*l.* This lord has in trust for a Mrs. *Cottercll*, a pension of 786*l.* The eldest son of the earl is an ensign in the army, 200*l.* His brother (Stapylton) is a colonel and paymaster and inspector of marines, 2,000*l.* He is also a commissioner of the navy, 1,000*l.* Two other relations with four livings in the church, 2,000*l*, A cousin of the earl

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married a *Golbourn*, who is become an under secretary of state in the colonial department, 2,000*l.*; [now chancellor of the exchequer]. The earl is related by marriage to the duke of *Beaufort*, whom see.—£48,336.

TANKERVILLE, E. *(Bennet)*. His mother-in-law, *dame Mary Colebrooke*, a pension of 400*l.* He has a son, a captain navy, 700*l.* He has a daughter married to one of the *Beresfords*, whom see under *Waterford* (in which family there are no less than *three bishops*. Four *Colebrooks*, cousins of lady *Tankerville*, a sinecure amongst them, 1,355*l.*—£2,455.

TEIGHNHAM, B. *(Roper)*. A catholic.

[TENTERDEN, B. *(Abbott)*. A new peer. Lord chief justice of the court of king's bench,—£8,000. A son, his marshal and associate, salary unknown.]

THANET, E. *(Tufton)*. Heriditary sheriff of Westmoreland.

THOMOND, M. *(O'Brien)*. Governor of a county in Ireland. Two brothers captains navy, 1,400*l.* His sister wife of *Saurin*, attorney general in Ireland, 10,000*l.* This *Saurin's* brother is dean of Derry with other benefices, 2,000*l.*—£13,400.

THURLOW, B. *(Thurlow)*. Has sinecures to the amount of 6,718*l.* He has a cousin in the church, with a prebend of Norwich, and the great living of Houghton, Durham, and another living, 2,000*l.* Another relation a sinecure of 1,056*l.* He has a brother who has a living in the church, 500*l.* There are other relations in the church. —£10,274.

TORRINGTON, V. *(Byng)*. An admiral, 1,000*l.* Son-in-law of *Barlow*, commissioner of Chatham dock-yard, 2,000*l.* A brother, Edmund, commissioner in India, 3,000*l.* Another brother captain navy, 700*l.* Another brother, a clerk in *Castlereagh's* office, 500*l.* A sister to wife of the viscount is wife of captain Percy Fraser of the navy, and he has a pension of 300*l.* and pay and profits, 700*l.*

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Another sister a wife of a *Hall*, who is *dean* of Christchurch and has two church livings, 2,000*l*. Another sister, married to *Hornby*, nephew to the earl of Derby, a living, 500*l*. SIR JOHN BYNG, now commander in the north, is the viscount's cousin; [now commander of the forces in Ireland.] He is a major general in army, and colonel of a West India regiment. This man's pay and profits cannot be less than 3,000*l*. This viscount is brother of *George Byng*, member for Middlesex. The *Hon.* Bridget Byng, has a *pension* of 131*l*.—£13,831.

TOWNSHEND, M. (*Townshend*). His uncle John pensions in trust for three females, 324*l*. John's daughter is wife of captain Clifford, navy, 700*l*. Another uncle in the church, three livings, 1,500*l*. He has an aunt wife of *Loftus*, a general in army and colonel of a regiment of horse, 2,000*l*. and lieutenant governor of the Tower, 963*l*. This Loftus has two sons in the army, 500*l*. The marquis is related to the *Blaquieres*, who have amongst them, more than 4,000*l*. in offices, places, and pensions.—£9,987.

TUAM, Abp. (*Beresford*). His archbishoprick, 23,000*l*. He has three sons with rich benefices in the church, 5,000*l*. Immense patronage. See *Waterford*.—£28,000.

TWEEDALE, M. (*Hay*). Col. in army, 800*l*. His brother, lieutenant colonel grenadier guards, 800*l*. Another brother, captain navy, 700*l*. Another brother, captain rifle corps, 500*l*. Another, ensign foot, 200*l*. The marquis has a sister, wife of *Ley*, clerk assistant, house of commons, 2,500*l*. There is a *list of pensioners* of this name. See *Lauderdale*.—£5,500.

TYRAWLEY, B. (*Cuff*). His son custos of a county in Ireland, and a colonel army, 800*l*.—£800*l*.

VERNON, B. (*Vernon*). Has a son a captain guards, 500*l*. His eldest son married a daughter of sir *John Borlase Warren*, who is an admiral, 1,000*l*. and has a pension, 2,000*l*. A daughter of this lord married a person who has a living, 500*l*. His sister, lady Harcourt, has a pension of

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500*l*. Another sister is maid of honour to late queen, 300*l*. and apartments in the palace. He has a brother archbishop of *York*, whom see under *York*. A brother (Leveson) is a *gentleman pensioner*, 100*l*. A relation with a pension of 300*l*.—£5,200.

VERULAM, E. (*Grimstone*). Lord lieutenant of Hertford. Has an uncle who has two livings, and is chaplain to the king, 1,500*l*. His aunt is wife of *Estcourt*, late solicitor to stamp office, pension 1,200*l*. Brother-in-law of the earl of *Liverpool*, whom see.—£2,700*l*.

WALDEGRAVE, E. (*Waldegrave*). Colonel in army, and lieutenant colonel of a regiment of foot, 800*l*. A brother a captain navy, 700*l*. An uncle an admiral, 1,000*l*. who has a son captain navy, 700*l*. His aunt, lady *Radstock*, has a pension of 300*l*.—£3,500.

[WALLACE, B. (*Wallace*). A new peer. Was master of the mint; and lately a commissioner for Indian affairs; and one of the directors of Greenwich hospital; married the widow of the father of the present lord *Melville*.]

WALSINGHAM, B. (*De Grey*). A major general in army, and lieutenant colonel of dragoons, 1,000*l*. His brother is an archdeacon, a prebend, a chaplain to the king, and has several church livings; but, we state no *sum*, as his benefices were included under the head of *Guildford*, which word see. This lord and his brother have two pensions, 1,200*l*.—£2,200.

WARWICK, E. (*Greville*). [Lord lieutenant of Warwick; and a lord of bedchamber, 2,000*l*]. Colonel militia, 1000*l*. Brother, lieutenant colonel in a regiment of foot, 800*l*. Uncle, Robert Fulke Greville, deputy ranger of Richmond park, 600*l*. Another uncle, extra clerk privy council, 419*l*. Charles Greville, a relation, secretary of Tobago, and naval officer of Demerara, 750*l*. William F. Greville, superannuated captain navy, 250*l*. Three relations with five church livings, 2,500*l*.—£6,519.

WATERFORD, M. (*Beresford*). Brother, John

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George, bishop of *Clogher*, 25,000*l*. Mr. Wakefield says, that it may be made worth 100,000*l*. Another brother, George Thomas, a major general in army, and comptroller of king's household, 3,000*l*. A sister of the marquis married a *Pack*, who is a major general in army and colonel of a regiment, 2,000*l*. A first cousin bishop of *Kilmore*, 15,000*l*. and Mr. Wakefield values it at a 100,000*l*. if out of lease. Four cousins (*Beresfords*) of the marquis have sinecures in Ireland, as *wine-tasters* and *storekeepers*, 4,000*l*. Another cousin, *Charles Cobb*, in the Irish church. Another cousin, wife of *Hill*, vice treasurer of Ireland, and clerk of the house, 2,265*l*. Another cousin, wife of *Knox*, dean of Down, with other benefices, 2,000*l*. Uncle of the marquis, archbishop of *Tuam*, who has three sons with rich benefices in the church; see *Tuam*. There are many of this family with other offices and emoluments.—£54,265.

WELLESLEY, M. (*Wellesley*). [Late lord lieutenant of Ireland: custos of the county of Meath]. He and his brother, W. W. Pole, have a sinecure of 4,252*l*. The marquis has a pension from the East India Company of, we believe, 5,000*l*. His son a resident in India, 6,000*l*. His brother, W. W. Pole, [now lord Maryborough], late master of the Mint, 4,000*l*. His brother Henry, ambassador at Madrid, 10,603*l*. [Now baron Cowley] Another brother a canon of St. Paul and rector of Chelsea, and chaplain to the king at Hampton Court, with apartments, worth altogether 5,000*l*. W. W. Pole, is related by marriage of his daughters, to lords *Bagot*, *Westmoreland* and the duke of *Beaufort*, all of whom see £34,855.

WELLINGTON, D. (*Wellesley*). His pensions amount to 12,531*l*.; 700,000*l*. granted him in money to purchase estates, the interest of this is 35,000*l*.; this makes 47,531*l*. He is a field marshal; colonel of regiment of horse, and of foot; colonel in chief of engineers; colonel in chief of the artillery; [lord lieutenant of Southampton; lord lieutetenant of the Tower hamlets; high constable of the Tower;

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governor of Dover castle, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports; a commissioner for Indian affairs; first lord of the treasury, 26,000*l.* Several other sources of emolument, with patronage enormous. This man has already cost the country more than a million of money.—£73,531. See *Conley*, *Maryborough*, and the last name].

[WEMYS, E. (*Douglass*). Lord lieutenant of Peebleshire.]

WESTMORELAND, E. (*Fane*). [Late] lord privy seal, 4,000*l.* His son [lord Burghersh] colonel army; aid-de camp to the king, and ambassador to Tuscany, 4,800*l.* The earl's daughter, who *was* wife of the earl of *Morley*, is *now* wife of sir Arthur *Paget*, who is a retired ambassador, with a pension of 2,300*l.* Another daughter married lord *Duncannon*, son of the earl of *Besborough*, and nephew of earl Fitzwilliam and cousin of lord *Milton*. A brother of the earl married a sister of SIR HUDSON LOWE, who is keeper of the emperor Napoleon, 12,000*l.* A sister of earl is wife of earl *Lonsdale*, whom see. The father's widow married a *Woodford*, which brought us the benefit of *sir Ralph Woodford*, who had a pension as late foreign minister, 800*l.*; and whose son is now governor of Trinidad, worth, perhaps, 6 or 10,000*l.* The earl's half brother, Woodford, is colonel in army; aid-de-camp to the king; and major of guards, and he is married to a daughter of *Percy Fraser*, a captain and commissioner of navy, 1,700*l.* and who has a pension of 300*l.* besides. Another half brother is a lieutenant colonel grenadier guards, 1,000*l.* The earl has a cousin, Henry Fane, a major general in army; and colonel of a regiment dragoons; and aid-de-camp to the king, 2,700*l.*; [now surveyor general to the ordnance]. Another cousin, a lieutenant colonel in army, 800*l.* Another in the church, with a living, 500*l.* Another a collector in *Bengal*, 3,000*l.* Another a captain foot, 400*l.* A female cousin, wife of major general Mitchell, 1,000*l.* Another female cousin, daughter of his uncle Henry, is wife of

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CHARLES ARBUTHNOT, who has a pension of 2,000*l.* [now chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster] and is a secretary of the treasury, with a salary of 3,000*l.* with house and other perquisites. Another cousin (J. T. Fane), clerk of privy seal, 350*l.* This man married a sister of the *earl of Macclesfield*, whom see.—£51,650.

[WHARNCLIFFE, B. *(Wortley Mackenzie).* A new peer. Was member for Yorkshire. A son, captain in army, 700*l.* Another son M. P., married to a daughter of Dudley, first earl of Harrowby. This peer is related to the marquis of Bute, whom see.]

WHITWORTH, E. *(Whitworth).* A pension of 2,300*l.* Brother-in-law of *lord Lake*, whom see. Uncle of lord *Aylmer*, who is a major general and adjutant general in Ireland, 3,000*l.* This Aylmer's brother, captain navy, 700*l.* The earl has a sister, who is wife of Henry Russell, late chief justice in Bengal, who, doubtless, has a pension. See *Liverpool.*—£6,000.

WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE, B. (*Verney*). [Great chamberlain of England, 3,000*l.*] Has a brother, groom of bedchamber to the king, 500*l.*, and a sister, wife of a *Barnard*, who is a prebendary of Winchester, and has two church livings, 1,500*l.*—£2,000

[WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY, B. *(Burrell).* Lord lieutenant of Caernarvonshire.]

WILTON, E. (*Grosvenor*). A minor. Son of *earl Grosvenor*, whom see.

WINCHILSEA, E. (*Finch*). A lord lieutenant, pension of 2,000*l.*, as late comptroller of the Windsor establishment. His niece is wife of lady Robert Fitzgerald, who has a pension of 800*l.* The earl has a cousin *(Hatton)* receiver general for the county of Kent, 2,000*l.* at least. This man's eldest son, a gentleman usher, 200*l.* Another cousin (*Finch Hatton*) a commissioner of stamps, 1,000*l.* This one has married a daughter of the *duke of Montrose*, whom see. Another cousin, married a *Hope.* See *Hopetown.*—£6,000*l.*

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WINCHESTER, M. (*Paulett*). Groom of the stole to the king, 2,000*l*. Has a son, a coronet of dragoons, 200*l*. A brother, an admiral, 1,000*l*. A sister, wife of Sir J. Yorke. See *Hardwicke*. These are not all the noble marquis's relations related to the people in a similar way.—£3,200.

WINCHESTER, Bp. (*Prettyman Tomline*). [*Sumner*.] A Bishoprick, 30,000*l*. a year; patronage, twelve prebends, six canonries, and seventy livings. The former was *tutor* to "the heaven-born minister," and had a son with two livings in the church, 1.000*l*.—£31,000.

WODEHOUSE, B. (*Wodehouse*). Recorder of Falmouth. Son, a colonel of militia, 1,000*l*. Another son, captain navy, and commissioner of navy office at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 3,000*l*. A son, Armine, with four livings in the church, 2,000*l*. Another son, William, three livings, 1,500*l*. Another son, Richard, one living, 500*l*. He has a nephew an archdeacon, and has three livings, 2,300*l*. Another, with two livings, 1,000*l*. Another, a major; and another, a captain in army, both 1,100*l*.—£12,300.

WORCESTER, Bp. (*Cornwall*). Bishoprick, 9,590*l*. besides the patronage, one archdeaconry and twenty-one livings. Relation to earl of *Liverpool*, whom see.—£9,590.

[WYNFORD, B. (*Draper Best*). A new peer. A retired pension as lord chief justice of the court of common pleas—£4,000.]

YARBOROUH, B. (*Pelham*). A son, a captain in the army.

YORK, Abp. (*Vernon*). [Lord high almoner, to the king]. Brother of lord *Vernon*, whom see. Archbishoprick, worth 20,000*l*. Patronage eighty livings, besides fifty prebends, precentorships, and subdeaconries. A son, chancellor of the diocese of York, 1,000*l*. Three sons in the church with four livings, 2,000*l*. The bishop is brother-in-law of the *marquis of Stafford* and of *lord Harrowby*, whom see.—£23,000.

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APPENDIX TO THE PEEP AT THE PEERS.

There has just been printed, by an order of the house of commons, dated November 12, 1830, "An account of all salaries, profits, pay, fees, and emoluments, whether civil or military, held and enjoyed by all persons, between the 5th of January, 1829, and 5th of January, 1830, the total value of which shall EXCEED 1,000*l.* specifying, with each name, the total amount received by each individual, and distinguishing the various sources from which the same are derived, so far as relates to civil officers—the court of chancery, and other judicial officers—diplomatic and consular officers—naval officers—military officers—ordnance and military officers—officers in the colonies—and officers of the house of commons."

From this report I take the following particulars, additional to those which appear in the preceding "Peep," but which there were previously no means of procuring.

ABERCROMBIE, B. Hereditary pension, 2,000*l.*

ATHLONE, E. Hereditary pension, 2,000*l.*

BATHURST, E. Add—His son, now honourable W. Bathurst, deputy teller of exchequer, 1,000*l.*; commissioner of victualling, 548*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* (The latter office is now abolished.)

BESBOROUGH. Add—A son, in army, 383*l.* governor of Malta, 4,000*l.* Pensions, 300*l.* He is married to a daughter of earl Bathurst.

CLARE, E. Add—Governor of Bombay, 20,000*l.* for governor general of India.

CLARENDON, E. Add—Chief justice in eyre 2,250*l.*

CONYNGHAM, M. Add—Lord steward, 2,435*l.* His son, earl Mountcharles, commissioner of treasury, 1,220*l.*; master of robes, 746*l.*; groom of bedchamber 366*l.*

DOWNES, B. *(Burgh.)* Colonel in army, 201*l.*, captain in guards, aid-de-camp to king, sum not known, and governor of county Carlow, secretary to master general of ordnance, 1,200*l.*

ELDON, E. Add—His son, W. H. J. Scott, receiver of fines in chancery, 240*l.*; registrar of affidavits, 1,816*l.*; clerk of the letters patent, 554*l.*

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ELLENBOROUGH B. This peer's emoluments, as chief clerk of king's bench, are put down at 3,800*l.*, they should be 9,625*l.*!

FARNBOROUGH, E. Add—Pension, 1,500*l.*

GORDON, D. This peer is put down, in Peep, as a major in army, at 800*l.*; it should have been colonel, 2,325*l.* Then, I omitted his pay as keeper of Edinburgh castle, which should have been 1,046*l.* But, on the other hand, his salary as keeper of the great seal of Scotland, is put down in Peep at 3,000*l.*, whereas it was *only* 1,850*l.*

GREY, E. Add—First lord of treasury, 5,000*l.*; son lord Howick, under secretary of state, 2,000*l.*; son-in-law, lord Durham, lord privy seal, 2,193*l.*; another son-in-law, honourable captain Barrington, lord of admiralty, 1,000*l.* with house; a brother-in-law, E. Ellice, secretary of treasury, 3,500*l.*; another brother-in-law, lord Ponsonby, ambassador, 4,681*l.*; another, honourable G. Ponsonby, lord of treasury, 1,200*l.*; a nephew, F. Baring, the great loan-monger, lord of treasury, 1,200*l.*; a son-in-law, H. Lambton, groom of bedchamber (salary not known). A pretty group belonging to our *liberal whig* premier!

HENLEY, B. *(Eden.)* Brother to lord Auckland. Pension, 2,000*l.*; a son, master in chancery, (married a daughter of sir Robert Peel), 4,644*l.*; another son, in church, 500*l.*—£7,144.

HILL, B. Add—A cousin, lord Berwick, has a son, W. Noel Hill, who is envoy extraordinary at Naples, 6,000*l.* another son, in the church, with two livings, 1,000*l.*, and a daughter, married to marquis of Ailesbury.

HOOD, V. Add—Pension, 1,875*l.* A grandson, in army, 700*l.*; another son, 700*l.* and also, consul at Monte Video, 1,271*l.*

HOME, E. Add—Eldest son, lord Dunglass, under secretary of state, 2,000*l.*; chamberlain of Ettrick Forest, 300*l.*—£2,300.

KENYON, B. Add—Custos Brevium, king's bench, 2,696*l.* I believe one of his sons is filacer, &c. in the court of king's bench, 1,254*l.*, and has a pension, under 6 Geo. IV. of 6,463*l.*

KILWARDEN, V. Pension, 1,200*l.*

MAYO, E. Add—Pension, 1,332*l.*

MONTROSE, D. Add—His salary as lord chamberlain, 3,053*l.* One son, marquis of Graham, commissioner for affairs of India, 1,500*l.*; a privy councillor, 6,000*l.*; colonel

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of militia, 1,000*l*. Another son, lieutenant guards, 500*l*. One daughter married to earl of Winchilsea, and another to viscount Clive, eldest son of the earl of Powis.

ROSSLYN. Add.—Son, lord Loughborough, in army, 419*l*, and clerk in Chancery, 1,136*l*.

SIDMOUTH. Add—A son H. U. Addington, minister at Frankfort, to 10th Oct. and from 10th Oct. at Madrid, 3,802*l*.

SHAFTESBURY, E. Add to what appears in Peep—His son, lord Ashley, commissioner for affairs of India, 1,500*l*.

SOMERSET, D. Add—Son, lord H. Seymour, pension, 1,251*l*.

THURLOW, *B.* Add—Another relation, Mr. T. Thurlow, patentee, for executing the laws concerning bankruptcies, in chancery, 1,602*l*. keeper of hanaper, 1,192*l*. prothonotary of court of chancery.

THE NEW ARISTOCRATICAL MINISTRY.

First lord of Treasury ...	Grey	a lord
Lord Chancellor	Brougham.....	a new lord
Chancellor Exchequer ...	Althorp..	a lord's son
Home Secretary	Melbourne.....	a lord
Foreign Secretary	Palmerston	a lord
Colonial Secretary	Goderich	a lord
Secretary at War.....	W. Wynn	a lord's cousin
First lord Admiralty	Graham	a lord's son-in-law
President Council.....	Lansdowne	a lord
Privy Seal	Durham	a lord
Attorney General.....	Denman.....	
Solicitor General.....	Horne	
Lord lieutenant Ireland ..	Anglesea	a lord
Secretary for Ireland ...	Stanley	a lord's grandson
Chancellor Ireland	Plunkett	a lord
Attorney General Ireland	Pennefather	
Pres. Board Trade and Master of Mint	Auckland	a lord
Vice President Board of Trade, and Master Navy	Thomson	
President Board Controul	Charles Grant ...	
Postmaster General	Richmond	a lord
Commander in Chief.....	Hill	a lord
Duchy of Lancaster.....	Holland	a lord
Paymaster-general forces	John Russel	a lord's son
Master-general Ordnance	Willoughby Gordon	
Surveyor Genl. Ordnance	A. Spencer	
Commis. Woods & Forests	Agar Ellis	a lord's son
Lord Chamberlain	Devonshire	a lord
Steward of Household	Wellesley	a lord
Master of Horse	Albemarle..... ..	a lord
Master Buck Hounds...	Anson	a lord
Judge Advocate General	R. Grant	

Mr. E. Ellis and Mr. Spring Rice, are joint Secretaries of the Treasury.

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CHAPTER IV.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Returned to serve in the first parliament of William IV., 1830.

In a previous part of this work we have inserted the petition presented to the house of commons by Lord—then Mr.—Grey, in 1793, praying for a thorough reform of that house, in an extension of the franchise, a shortening of the duration of parliaments, and a securing to the people the free and spontaneous choice and election of their representatives. Subsequent events have rendered this petition, the society from whom it emanated, and the noble lord who presented it to the house, of more than ordinary interest to the public, and we shall offer no apology, therefore, for introducing a list of the principal members of the society, and an extract from the speech delivered by Mr. Grey.

The society of the "Friends of the People" consisted, on the day of its formation, of one hundred and forty-eight members, most of whom were at that time conspicuous, either as public, or literary, or professional men: amongst them were—

Charles Grey, Esq. M P.	Capel Loft, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Maitland, M.P.	*R. B. Sheridan, Esq. M.P*
George Mons, Esq.	Ald. Sawbridge, M.P.
Earl of Lauderdale.	John Whiston, Esq. M.P.
James Mackintosh, Esq.	James Martin, Esq. M.P.
Malcolm Laing, Esq.	*William Smith, Esq. M.P.*
Rt. hon. lord Kinnaird.	George Byng, Esq. M.P.
Philip Francis, Esq. M.P.	John Cartwright, Esq.
W. H. Lambton, Esq. M.P.	Richard Sharpe, Esq.
George Tierney, Esq.	Rev. J. Towers, M.A.
T. B. Hollis, Esq.	Alderman Combe.
S. Whitbread, Esq. M.P.	T. Holt White, Esq.

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Sir J. Throckmorton, M.P. *Robert Slade, Esq.*
M. A. Taylor, Esq. M.P. Earl of Buchan.
Hon. T. Erskine, M.P. Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bart.
Robert Knight, Esq.

On presenting the petition, a copy of which is given in p. 11, above, Mr. Grey made a luminous and argumentative speech, in which he mentioned the several efforts that had, from time to time, been made to obtain a reform of parliament, pourtrayed some of the many evil consequences of their not having been attended to, and exposed the corruption of the house. He declared that he concurred in the principle promulgated at the revolution, in 1688, "That a man ought not to be governed by laws, in the forming of which he had not a voice, either in person, or by his representative, and that he ought not to be made to pay taxes, to which he had not consented in the same way." "Short parliaments was another principle then maintained;" and he declared, that "any departure from these principles was, in some shape, a departure from the spirit and practice of the constitution."

In 1794, in the debate on the proposal of Pitt, Dundas, and Grenville, to suspend the habeas corpus act, Mr. Grey observed, that "On a former occasion, Mr. Pitt had, with others, resolved, that considering it was in vain to look to parliament for a regeneration originating within itself, it be RECOMMENDED TO THE PEOPLE, throughout the kingdom, to assemble for the purpose of applying to parliament on the subject. This same William Pitt, who had taught the people to believe that nothing honest was to be expected from the house of commons, now asserted that the people should do nothing for themselves; but if the language of applying to the people for a reform be criminal," said Mr. Grey, "I myself am guilty, since I do not scruple to assert, that *from this house I have no hopes of parliamentary reform.* THIS HOUSE WILL NEVER REFORM ITSELF, or

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destroy the corruption by which it is upheld, by any other means than those of the resolutions of the people, acting on the prudence of the house. THIS POINT THEY COULD ONLY ACCOMPLISH BY MEETING IN BODIES, AS RECOMMENDED BY MR. PITT, in 1782. However impugned, parliamentary reform was a cause which he (Mr. Grey) would never desert, nor would he, to procure power, or to gratify ambition, ever become an APOSTATE."

The table of Parliamentary Patronage, originally published in 1793, and reprinted in p. 28, above, explanatory of the state of the representation in the English house of commons, at that period, affords sufficient evidence of its corruption. But as the English parliament has, since then been joined by one hundred Irish members, it may be well to inquire from what source those Irish members derive their powers—whether from the people, or from the aristocracy; and also to take a glance at the Irish parliament, previous to the union, for the purpose of ascertaining the materials of which it was composed. In this we disclaim all factious motives, and wilful mis-statement. We will name our authority, who is still living, and who may contradict our statements, if they be erroneous. We mean ARTHUR O'CONNOR, who is the nephew of an Irish earl, and was a member of the Irish parliament. This gentleman is a relative of sir Francis Burdett, and was the intimate friend of earl Grey, and the principal leaders of the whigs. He was tried and acquitted on a charge of high treason, at Maidstone, in 1798, and was then bailed by the present duke of Bedford. In the year 1797, this gentleman published a work on the state of Ireland, and in his account of the composition of the Irish house of commons, we think the reader will find an Irish "*Roland*" for an English "*Oliver*."—

"Let us analyze the ingredients with which this charlatan (Mr. Pitt) has quacked, poisoned, and tormented our

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political frame. I ask, is it not a fact that lord *Shannon*, has made a private property of the power of returning thirteen members, to legislate in our national representation? Has not lord *Ely* possessed himself of the same power of returning nine—lord Devonshire eight—the Beresford faction eight—lord Abercorn seven—lord Kingston seven —lord Londonderry five—lord Caledon four—The Latouches seven—Bruen six—and Foster five?—But to abridge this odious detail of the enslavement of my country, I ask, is it not a fact, that thirty men, principally lords, hold it in their power of returning a decided majority of that assembly, which by the constitution should be the real representation of the whole of the Irish people? I ask, is it not a fact, that these thirty men hold an account, debit and credit, with the agent of the British minister, where, in the rankest and foulest treason, they make an unlimited transfer of the agency and suffrage of the spurious bastard delegates, and of the blood and wealth of the Irish people, not only to support a war in which she has no concern, and can derive no possible benefit; but to pay for the treason that destroys her liberties, her manufactures, and her commerce? Besides, I ask, is it not a fact, that that beautiful island has been parcelled out into districts, sized and appointed to the weight and number of the delegates with which each stands credited in that ledger of usurpation and treason? I ask, is it not a fact, that in these districts, these farmers'-general of our rights, hold the appointments of officers of the revenue—licensed extortioners on the foreign trade of the nation—throughout our harbours and sea-ports—excise officers, to sweep the island, sheriffs and grand juries to rob on the highways, even converting the vestments of a christian minister into a pall to cover prostitution, and the ermines of justice into a cloak for corruption? I ask, is it not a fact, tha'—for betraying the rights and interests of their country, and after providing for their families, their adherents, and their creatures—they divide amongst themselves hundreds

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of thousands of the money of the most wronged and impoverished nation on earth, in jobs, in pensions, and in sinecure places? Are these not the men who, in 1796, passed the convention bill, and disarmed the Irish nation? Are these not the men who substituted "lettres de cachet" for trial by jury? Are these not the men, who after exhausting their vindictive inventions in framing sanguinary laws, skulked to their council, to let slip an excited military, to wreak their vengeance with fire and sword on the Irish people, and afterwards went to their house of commons, to wind up their automaton delegates, not only to sanction their murders, but to panegyrise them as the saviours of the constitution; whilst in the sacred trust of legislation they were its most tyrannical subverters? The very outrages they sanctioned and applauded were an unerring testimony, that to secure the usurpation of the essential rights of the constitution, they consigned all the rest to the flames, the bayonet, and the dungeon."

It is quite evident from this, that the hand which scourged Ireland, at the same time oppressed England, and that when each country had a separate legislature, the same misrule was exercised in both. But whether the Irish legislators were considered by the British minister to be lunatics at home, incapable of judging of their own affairs; or whether he saw in them a disinclination to accept of any portion of the public plunder; or discovered a penchant for plundering largely, without a becoming disposition for dividing the spoil, are questions which we cannot solve. Certain, however, it is, that the people of both countries are still victims to the abominable system so fearlessly exposed by Mr. O'Connor. For the proofs, we refer to the information comprised in the following Analysis.

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MEMBER'S NAMES.	PLACES FOR WHICH THEY SIT.
Abercromby, hon. G. R. Son and heir of lord Abercromby, who has a pension of 2,000l. a year. This member is a relation, by marriage, to Lord Melville. He voted against inquiry into the civil list.	Clackmannan and Kinross-shire, *Scotland.* These counties, the former of which has a score of *voters*, and the latter a dozen, do not jointly return a member, but they return alternately a member for one parliament; by which means each secures its share of good things, without challenge or competition. Franchised, Anne, October, 1707.

.....

Ackland, sir T. Dyke. (79, Pall Mall) A commissioner for the management of exchequer bills. He is son-in-law to Hoare, the great banker, and has two or three brothers in the navy. He is always with the ministry, against the people. He did not vote for the repeal of the six acts, nor for Manchester inquiry, nor for marquis of Blandford's, or Mr. O'Connell's reform billls. Voted against reform in Scotland.	Devon, *County.* The extent of this county, the weight of its property, and the number of its voters, give it the importance of a state equal to some of the American governments; whereas it is not, in truth, a poize in the representation with Gatton or Old Sarum! The expenses attending a contested election are so great, as to render it only necessary that the most opulent gentlemen in the county should perform the ceremonies of an election, to invest them with the power of making laws affecting the property and lives of every man in the country. The whigs and the tories generally agree to divide the representation between them, as at

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present—*tory*, sir T. D. Ackland—*whig*, lord Ebrington. So that, as far as the country is concerned, there might as well be no representative for the county. Obtained the right to return members, 18 Edward I.

.....

Acheson, lord.
Son to lord Gosford (see Peep). *This young gentleman was first introduced into parliament during the present session. Being a man of ardent patriotic wisdom, he soon became distinguished, and on a petition in favour of the* ballot *being presented to the house, set his veto against it, in the most decided and illustrious manner. His opinion was based on the apprehension, that the ballot would not afford security to the voter, who would live in the fear that some friend or other, to whom, in an hour of confidence, he had intrusted his secret, should betray it! What tender mercy and loving kindness do our young lordlings begin to betoken!*

Armagh, *County. Ireland.*
The earls Charlemont and Gosford, sir C. Molyneux, and Mr. Brownlow, the other member, are the principal proprietors here.

.....

A'Court, E. H.
(16, Great Ryder Street.) A captain in navy. He is brother to lord Heytesbury, who, in addition to being a privy councillor, say at 2,000*l a year, is ambassador at St. Petersburg, with a salary of* 12,000*l.! He is related to lord Radnor,* (see Peep at Peers.) *He has voted against all motions for reform, and*

Heytesbury, *Wilts.*
This place, which is a perfectly rotten borough, sends two members to parliament, who are returned by a few burgage holds. It was formerly the property of the duke of Marlborough, and sir W. A. A'Court, but, now belongs exclusively to the latter, who was, in 1828, created lord Heytesbury. In the year 1766 the town was entirely

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against Sir H. Parnell's motion on civil list.

consumed by fire, but like Old Sarum, it retained the function of political life, after its body had been destroyed. The returning officer, as in most of the burgage tenure boroughs, is appointed by the patron, i. e. the lord who nominates the members. The favoured individuals at last election (!) were the lord's brother, and sir G. Staunton. Heytesbury has sent members to parliament since 27th Edward VI.

.....

Adeane, H. J. A new member, brought in by the influence of the earl of Hardwicke.

Cambridge, *County.* The aristocratical interest predominant in this county, is that of the duke of Rutland, and the earl of Hardwicke, in conjunction; and so long have they had an ascendant influence here, that those who would otherwise oppose their monopoly, are intimidated from attempting it, by the apparent uselessness of the effort. The independent interest of the county is not in the proportion of one third to this coalition. Has sent members since 18 Edward I.

.....

Agnew, sir A. Voted against inquiry into civil list.

County Wigton, *Scotland.* The voters in this county are nominally twenty-nine. Sent members since reign of Anne.

.....

Alexander James,
(12, Devonshire Street.)
Alexander J. D.
(7, Grosvenor Square.)
Both East India Agents. They are cousins of the earl of Caledon, (see Peep at Peers,) *who is the pro-*

Old Sarum. A rotten borough, *in Salisbury.* This place, which has neither house nor inhabitant, sends two members to parliament, and who are of course the

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prietor of the borough for which they sit. The earl is descended from the Alexanders of Londonderry, who were, no doubt, respectable, yet no member of the family ever obtained any thing beyond the honours of the profligate corporation of that city, until the return of his lordship's father from the East Indies, about forty-five years ago. After the return of James Alexander, we find them at once starting into opulence. The Caledon estate was purchased from the earl of Cork, and other properties were also purchased, to the amount of near 600,000*l., and in a very few years after, we find his present Lordship's father sitting in the Irish house of peers, as Baron Caledon, with four votes in the house of commons. On the trial of Warren Hastings, Mr. Burke said, "It was to be doubted whether gentlemen who had acquired fortunes in India, were proper representatives of the people. They were, in his mind, the antichrist of* representatives of the noble lord, (Caledon) to whom the borough belongs. The supposed right of representation is in seven bits of land, called burgage tenures, which *elect (!)* the members through the instrumentality of the proprietor's bailiff! The following description of the election here, in 1802, is worth preserving. "The election was held in a temporary booth; and Mr. Dean of Wimborne, the bailiff of the borough, having read the precept from the sheriff, the the Rev. Dr. Skinner, of the Close, Salisbury, rose and nominated two candidates, 'having a thorough conviction,' he said, 'that their public conduct would be such as was calculated to give satisfaction and do honour to their constituents.' This was assented to, by the Rev. Mr. Borough, of Abbott's Ann, William Dycke, esq. of Syrencott, together with Mr. Massey, and Mr. Brunsdon, two occupiers of land within the borough, and the election was forthwith complete!" It was originally the property of Thomas Pitt, a cousin of the

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representation. Habituated to a different mode of thinking, and different forms of government, from those which subsist in a free country, they were not the representatives of the feelings and grievances of the people. On the contrary, it was to be feared, that they were the advocates of tyranny and oppression, and that they would naturally wish to suppress all inquiry which would strike at the root of their own opulence and greatness." Earl Caledon was for some years governor of the Cape of Good Hope, at a salary of 14,000*l. a year. He had two sisters, one married to lord Blaney, and the other to Colonel Heyland. He is also cousin to Leslie Alexander, who is a linen factor, and an East India director. He has also a cousin, the bishop of Down, whose living is worth* 8,000*l. a year; and also another cousin, a prebendary, with some rich livings. The members for Sarum have voted thick and thin with ministers. Against all reform—for an increase in Huskisson's salary—against abolishing office of lieutenant of ordnance—and, in fact, against all retrenchment.*

first earl of Chatham, and who, by giving his patronage to the minister, procured a peerage, by the title of lord Camelford. The borough was purchased by the present proprietor for about 60,000*l*. The land and manorial rights are not worth more than 600*l*. or 700*l*. per annum. This place has sent members since 23 Edward III.

.....

ALTHORP, *lord,*
(12, Downing Street.)
Eldest son of earl Spencer, and a liberal whig. Present chancellor of the exchequer. The noble lord has generally adopted a liberal

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE *County*
The elective franchise in this county was conferred in 25 Edward III. and is vested in the inhabitant householders not receiving alms. The mayor is the returning officer, and it

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course, both in speaking and voting, and when he joined the present ministry, great hopes were entertained of its determination to do something effectual. But, alas! what can any ministry do that should permanently relieve the country, if they are dependant on the men who batten on its vitals? The noble lord has already inflicted a piece of pure whiggism on the country, by an increase in the army, to the number of six thousand men; assenting to the absurd and unconstitutional doctrine propounded by Sir H. Vivian, that the only protection for property is to be found in the maintenance of a large army. Did not his lordship oppose Mr. Pitt's additional force bill, in 1804*?*

.....

Anson, sir G.
(5, Bulstrode Street.)
Uncle of lord Anson, (see Peep; *and add, that he is master of the buck-hounds, and patron of the borough for which his uncle sits.) He is a general, and colonel of dragoons, and was aid-de-camp to the late king. He has three brothers in the church, and one in the army.*

Lichfield, *Staffordshire.*
The right of election was originally (33 Edward I.) vested in the bailiff, magistrates, freeholders of 40*s.* the holders of burgage-tenures, and such freemen as are enrolled and pay scot and lot. The number of nominal voters is about six hundred, but the burgage-tenures and freeholds which confer the right of voting, was the property of viscount Anson and the marquis of Stafford, who have each nominated a member, since 1747. At the last three elections, lord Anson has nominated his uncle, Sir G. Anson, and the marquis of Stafford, his

is supposed that the number of voters is about one thousand. The aristocracy, however, are more numerous here than in any other county of the same size in England, and they always manage to divide among them, very quietly and good temperedly, the representation.

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nephew, G. G. V. Vernon, son of the archbishop of York. Lord Stafford has recently sold his property to lord Anson, and Mr. Vernon was only returned conditionally. It is arranged that he retires at the next election, and that the voters shall return one member. Sir E. Scott is promised their support.

.....

Anson, honourable G. (32, *Curzon Street.*) *Brother of lord Anson, and a colonel in the guards.*

Great Yarmouth, *Norfolk.* This had been a close borough for more than a century, the marquis of Townsend and the government dividing the representation between them; but in 1818, it was opened by the return of the hon. T. W. Anson, the present peer, and C. G. Rumbold, Esq. in opposition to the nominees. The former gentleman succeeding to the peerage, the present member was returned in his place, at a very heavy expense, and has retained his seat ever since. The elective franchise is vested in the burgesses at large, whose number is about twelve hundred. Has sent members since 23 Edward I.

.....

Antrobus, G. C. (11, *Grosvenor Square.*) *Late secretary of legation to the United States. His brother married a niece of the earl of Balcarras. He has voted against all motions for reform, and also against those for reducing expense of South American embassies, for reform of court of chancery, and for inquiry into the civil list.*

Plympton, *Devonshire.* This is a small borough, consisting of not more than two hundred little cottages, but it returns two members to parliament, one by the earl of Mount Edgecombe, the other by Mr. Treby. It has sent members since 23 Edw.I. The seats are regularly sold.

.....

Apsley, lord. (*Downing Street.*) *A son of earl Bathurst.* (see Peep.) *Had a sinecure as commissioner*

Cirencester, *Glo'stershire.* The number of voters in this borough (which obtained the right in 13, Elizabeth) is

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for affairs of India under the late ministry. Has voted against all motions for reform and retrenchment.

about six hundred, the inmates being excluded, on a petition to the house of commons in 1792. Earl Bathurst, who lives at Oakley park, close to the town, who is lord of the manor, and whose steward and bailiff are the returning officers, has, with his ancestors, nominated one of the members for this borough for upwards of a century. In 1812, he succeeded in returning both; but in 1818, the other sitting member, Mr. Cripps, managed to play his interest so well against his lordship's, that he returned himself.

.....

Arbuthnot, right hon. C. (3, Carlton Gardens.) This member married a niece of the earl of Westmorland. (see Peep at Peers.) *He has a pension as retired ambassador; and has been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and a commissioner in the church and corporation land tax office, and chief commissioner of woods and forests. He was a secretary of the treasury, and in virtue of his office he addressed a letter to the members, calling on them to attend more diligently in their places, to support the just and necessary influence of the crown, by voting against the abolition of useless offices! The votes of this gentleman have*

Ashburton, a borough in *Devonshire.* The number of voters in this place is stated to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, but their nominal amount is nothing, since they are virtually but two; namely, those of the proprietors, lord Clinton and Sir L. V. Palk, bart., at whose discretion the freeholders are divided, for the purpose of complying with the forms of an election. The returning officer is the portreeve, appointed by the lord of the manor. The borough sent members 26 Edward I. intermitted till 8 Henry IV., ceased till 1640, and then restored.

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always been with ministers, whatever may have been the job. He voted against abolishing the useless offices of lieutenant general of the ordnance, and treasurer of navy, against the marquis of Blandford's, and Mr. O'Connell's motions for reform, against reform in chancery, inquiry into privy councillor's emoluments, modification of taxation, inquiry into crown lands, repeal of duty on coals into Ireland, and committee on civil list. There are three ladies of the name of Arbuthnot on the pension list, but we know not whether they are all related to this member, but it is highly probable they are so. There is Harriet Arbuthnot, however, at the head of the list, for 938*l.* 10*s.; and this fair pensioner is the wife of the honourable member!*

.....

ARBUTHNOT, *honorable H.* (19, *Dorset Street.*) *Brother to viscount Arbuthnot, is a lieutenant in the army, and a commissioner in the audit office, at* 1,200*l. a year. He has a brother, a captain in the royal artillery. This member has distinguished himself by voting against every measure likely to be beneficial to the country. Against reducing salary of board of trade, reform in representation in Edinburgh, abolishing offices of treasurer of navy and lieutenant general of ordnance, account of privy council emoluments, inquiry into crown lands, reducing diplomatic expenses, reform in chancery, Mr. O'Connell's and marquis of Blandford's motions for reform, sir H. Parnell's motion for committee on civil list, and, in fact, against all reform, revision, and retrenchment. He is one of those who believe that "the system works well."*

KINKARDINE, *County.* The number of voters in this county are said not to exceed a dozen, and the returned member is, in fact, the nominee of viscount Arbuthnot. Has sent members since 1707.

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Archdeckne, A. (1, *Grosvenor Square.*) *This gentleman votes liberally, and independently; he has large West India estates, and purchased his seat of Lord Huntingfield.*

Dunwich, *Suffolk.* This borough was formerly a city, but is now a miserable hamlet. There have been contradictory decisions as to the right of voting in it, but by the decision of 1708, the franchise originally conferred by 23, Edward I. is declared to be in the resident freemen not receiving alms, varying from twelve to twenty voters. It is under the direct control of lord Huntingfield and Mr. Barnes, who each return a member.

.....

Archdall M. *Brother-in-law to the late sir John Stewart, who was ex-ex-ex-ex-attorney general for Ireland, and who sat in parliament as member for Tyrone, but really to represent the political feelings and private interests of the marquis of Abercorn. This member is a general in the army, and governor of the Isle of Wight. He voted against Mr. O'Connell's motion for reform.*

Fermanah, *county. Ireland.* This is one of the smallest counties in Ireland, and is the hot-bed of party feuds and religious persecution. It has been for nearly the last half century kept as a close borough, in the families of lords Belmore and Enniskillen, and Mr. Archdall. At the last general election, sir Henry Brooks, a brave and meritorious officer, thought to open the county; but the coalescing of the aristocracy, and the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders, rendered all his efforts ineffectual. Fermanah, though so small, has a larger yeomanry staff on the establishment than the county of Cork, which is ten times the size. Mr. Hume brought this subject before parliament in the session of 1823, and we hope to see him renew his motion, for the arms

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so distributed into the hands of an orange yeomanry, are not used in any other way, than in resisting a sheriff's officer in tne execution of his duty, in the protecting of an illicit still, or in shooting his majesty's unoffending subjects of the catholic religion.

.....

Ashley, lord. (20, *Norfolk St., Park Lane.*) *Son to the earl of Shaftesbury,* (See Peep,) *and late commissioner for India affairs, at* 1,500*l. a year. He has voted against all motions for reform and retrenchment, and also against sir H. Parnell's motion on civil list.*

Dorchester, *Dorset.* This is a borough and market town, the elective franchise in which, conferred 23 Edward I. is vested in the inhabitants paying to church and poor, and in such others, though non-resident, as pay these rates, in respect to their real estates within the borough. The right of election here, however, is pregnant with great political inconveniences; for a person possessing the fee simple of a house and offices, may, by letting his house to one, his garden to a second, his coach-house to a third, and his stable to a fourth, qualify as many voters, and that without regard to residence, or their names ever appearing upon the poor's rate. Almost one half of the houses and rateable property, which give the right of voting in this borough, belong to the earl of Shaftesbury, who conveys them by freehold leases to his friends and dependants, for the purpose of making votes at the election. One of these trust holders claimed, and actually exercised, the right of voting for a piece of land on which a litttle shop *anciently* stood, but which *now makes part of the public road,* and is *actually covered with pavement.* Many other pieces of land, which are entirely *waste,* and *covered with rubbish* and *weeds,* have *the right of suffrage* annexed to them, and are considered as *the most valuable voting property,* because they *admit of no* inhabitant to give his suffrage

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for his personal effects, who might be able to balance the vote of the noble earl's feoffee in trust. By means of this property, the earl of Shaftesbury elects one member, who is his representative in the house of commons, because as he is chosen by means of the earl's property, and by his direction, he cannot be said to be the representative of the people of Dorchester, or of any portion of the people of England. The former viscount Milton was a candidate at the general election in 1790, and had about two-thirds of the votes of the householders, in consequence of which he was returned by the mayor, but a committee of the house of Commons was of opinion, that *a decided majority of the inhabitants* did *not entitle him* to a seat for Dorchester, the *parchment* votes of the earl of Shaftesbury *outnumbering* those of the *bonâ fide* householders!!!

.....

Astell, W.
(4, Portland Place.)
An East India director. Voted against Mr. O'Connell's motion for reform, against reform in chancery, and against inquiry into the civil list. He has voted for no measures of retrenchment, nor for any extension of popular rights.

Bridgewater, *Somerset.*—The elective franchise in this borough, which was conferred 23, Edward I. is exercised by the inhabitants paying scot and lot, which are estimated at three hundred, by Burke. The patronage of it was formerly possessed by the famous Bubb Doddington, who was opposed by the earl of Egmont, when they were leaders of the tory faction, during the reign of George III. Earl Paulet had then the lead of the ministerial party in Bridgewater, and by coalescing with lord Egmont, contrived to possess himself of the controlling influence. His lordship's interest was frequently opposed, but as he had the distribution of the government favours, he was always regarded as the patron. The contests were, however, productive of the grossest

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bribery. Oldfield says, he heard one elector boast that he had sold his pig for a HUNDRED GUINEAS, and was permitted to eat it himself; another, that he had sold his parrot for the same sum, but that the purchase was never claimed by the candidate. Sums of three, four, and five hundred guineas, he adds, have been given for single votes! But though corruption may have been carried higher here, it is not more general than in other boroughs; for where the poor voters are not permitted to share the purchase money, the proprietor will not hesitate to receive his FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS himself. The history of Shaftesbury, Ilchester, and Hendon, or any other borough where the system of corruption has been exposed, will afford a pretty accurate idea of the practice which prevails in all the rest. Lord Paulet nominated Mr. Astell, the present member, in 1812, and he has retained his seat ever since.

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ASTLEY, sir J. D. (10, Langham Place.) This member is a decided tory, and an enemy of reform. He has occasionally voted for retrenchment, however his elections have cost him so much that it is supposed he would decline any farther contest.

WILTSHIRE. This county has sent members to parliament, since 18, Edward I. It possesses all the independence that is compatible with the practice of open voting. The aristocracy used to controul the representation, but a combination of the esquires was formed against the present earl Caernarvon, and lord Porchester. It was then resolved that no peer's son should represent the county, and it fell under the controul of the magistrates, who formed a club for the management of elections—there have been some severe contests.

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ATKINS, alderman, J. (68, Wimpole Street.) This gentleman made his debut

ARUNDEL, *Sussex.* The right of election conferred upon this borough in 23,

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in parliament in the year 1806, *I believe, as member for Arundel, by rising in his seat, and declaring, in reply to a member who wished to have some schedules printed and laid before the merchants of Dublin, relative to the "Irish revenue perpetration bill," that "there were a sufficient number of mercantile men in that house, who were fully competent to the understanding of any business of that or a similar kind." Some time afterwards, he*

Edward I. is vested in the inhabitants paying scot and lot. The duke of Norfolk is the principal proprietor; but unless he, or the person whom he recommends, expends large sums of money, his influence is trifling. Without money the duke cannot return a member, and as he may always be exposed to a contest, he has ceased to interfere. The late duke commanded the return of the members by his purse.

was returned for the city of London, but in the year 1818, *he was thrown out, by the successful exertions of alderman Wood. His character may be summed up in one word—he is* AN ALDERMAN, par excellence. *The following are* some *of the motions* against *which he has voted:—Abolition of sinecure offices of lieutenant general of ordnance, and treasurer of navy; repeal of test and corporation acts, and catholic disabilities; marquis of Blandford's and Mr. O'Connell's reform; relief of Jews; abolishing punishment of death for forgery; reducing expense of South American embassies; and sir H. Parnell's motion on civil list. His name is not found once among the votes for any measure of reform or retrenchment. This worthy member distinguished himself in his aldermanic capacity, in the year* 1819, *by communicating to the minister Castlereagh, that he had discovered a plot for blowing up the city of London. This turning out to be all smoke, he obtained the name of "Hell-fire Jack."*

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ATTWOOD, *M.* (*27, Gracechurch Street.*) *This gentleman is a banker, and brother to Mr. Thomas Attwood of Birmingham, the chairman of the political union in that town. He is indefatigable in his efforts to obtain a reissue of paper money, and is chiefly distinguished as a speaker on the currency question. His votes have been upon the whole pretty satisfactory, for though we find him voting against abolishing the sinecure of lieutenant general of the ordnance, he appears on the right side on the following questions:—repeal of duty on coals into Ireland; reduction of expenses in Nova Scotia, and also in Prince Edward's island; malversation of four and a half per cent duties; inquiry into civil list, and increasing the amount of recognizances of newspaper proprietors.*

BOROUGHBRIDGE, *Yorkshire.* This is only a chapelry to the parish of Aldborough, but it sends two members to parliament. The right of voting is confined to the burgage holders, who are nominally fifty, but in fact but *one,* the great *boroughmonger,* the duke of Newcastle, possessing the power of returning both the members. Mrs. Lawson has the property of more than a third of the town, and formerly gave her interest to the duke, by arrangement. There was a contest at the last election, and Mr. Lawson, and Mr. Mackinnon, the unsuccessful candidates, have petitioned against the return, which they allege was obtained through the influence of a peer, who acted by the means of the postmaster, the agent there, whose interference also was illegal, he being engaged at the time in the collection of the revenue; that the uncle of the postmaster was appointed assessor, and his brother-in-law, poll-clerk. The borough first sent members, 1st Mary. The returning officer is the bailiff.

.....

BAILLIE, *J.* (*9, Devon-*

INVERNESS, a scotch burgh,

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shire Place.) This member is a colonel in the army, and a director in the East India company. He voted against abolishing lieutenant generalship of ordnance, against reform, against inquiry into civil list, and generally against the correction of abuses.

including Inverness, Fortrose, Nairn, and Fores. The member for these burghs, like the members for all the rest of the burghs, is returned by the self-elected town council. They are under the influence of Mr. Mc Kenzie.

.....

Baillie, J. E. (1, Seymour Place.) This is a new member who was brought in on the West India interest, in opposition to Mr. Protheroe, who had pledged himself to emancipation, reform, and liberal measures, generally. His election is said to have cost him 25,000l.

Bristol, *Gloucester.* This city contains, according to the last census, a population of 76,297, and is, in fact the second city in England; but the right of voting is restricted to the freeholders of forty shillings a year, and the free burgesses. The number of voters is estimated at 5,000 resident, and 3,000, non-resident. This city endures the abominable grievance of having its right of election so involved and entangled, and so completely exposed to imposition, that the people in reality have no power of choosing their representatives. The right is vested in freeholders and freemen, and is likewise extended to the husbands of freemen's daughters, whose marriages often take place for the purpose of multiplying the number of voters. The Spectator observes, that "this curious privilege was granted by Queen Anne, who was pleased by the hospitality which the people of Bristol had shewn her husband, prince George of Denmark: she asked them what privilege she should confer upon them, and they requested this privilege, *because their women were so ugly.*" At the

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general election in 1812 Mr. Hunt stood for this city, against sir S. Romily, and Messrs. R. H. Davis and E. Protheroe. He was unsuccessful, but demonstrated the extreme corruption of the election of the members who were returned. The expense of an election at Bristol is calculated to cost each candidate, one thousand pounds a day! Hence a whig and a tory member are generally returned by compromise, for the purpose of saving the purses of those whose interest prompts them to be, or to return, the representatives. The elective franchise was conferred by 47, Edward III.

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Baillie, H. D. (34, Mortimer Street.) A colonel in the army, and a new member in the house. He is brother to the member for Bristol, and is connected with the West Indies. His father was a great merchant at Bristol; the house still exists, and the colonel and his brother have an interest in it. They were both supposed to be liberal, but their first vote against sir H. Parnell's motion, shews that their friends had mistaken them.

Rye, *Sussex.* This is a market town and parish in the hundred of Godstow, rape of Hastings. It is not one of the original cinque ports, but, together with Winchelsea, was annexed to them before the reign of Henry III. The first return known was in 42, Edward III. By a decision of the house in 1702, the right of election is only in the mayor, jurats, (which have varied from 4 to 12,) and freemen. This place was, before the *passing of Crewe's* bill, in the strictest sense of the term, says Oldfield, a treasury borough. All the freemen, with scarcely an exception, being possessed of places in some revenue department. Since this bill has passed, it has become absolutely necessary to make a small addition to the usual number of freemen, in order that there may be *some* people duly qualified to go through the formal part of the *farce* of an election, to return members to Parliament, all

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which, new-made freemen, who are not ostensibly holders of a place are quartered upon, and in a certain degree, divide the profits with those who are in possession of the more lucrative posts. At this place there is a custom-house, with a very large establishment; a custom-house boat, as it is called, whose crew consists wholly of landsmen, and who are, of course, all freemen; and seven riding officers in the service of the customs. A cutter is likewise stationed here, under pretence of cruising against the smugglers, but in truth, by way of giving additional influence to the treasury; the vessel being employed and paid by the treasury, and is immediately under its controul, though it is usually called a custom-house cutter. There is but one other vessel in the kingdom thus peculiarly circumstanced. The town, being situated at a considerable distance from the sea, could not have any particular occasion for fortifications; however, it has been thought expedient, of late years, to erect a couple of forts, which have of course their proper officers, gunners, and assistants: whence arises another opportunity for government influence. In addition to the above, Rye has the usual excise and post-office establishments, which are found in other towns; and we must not omit to make mention of the new harbour; for the making of which an act was passed about eighty years since and the only real object of which was, the giving additional force to treasury patronage and influence. After much labour and expense, the new harbour was wholly abandoned in the year 1778; notwithstanding which circumstance, the enormous tax of two-pence per ton on all vessels of the kingdom, as often as they pass the streights of Dover, is still continued. The mode in which the produce of this vast burthen on the commerce of the nation is now applied, is well worth the investigation of parliament: certain it is, that all the officers, artisans, and workmen (most of whom are freemen) still continue to enjoy their pensions and salaries, though their places are now become, in the strictest sense of the word, sinecures. The conduct and management

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of the enormous mass of influence has been for many years vested in the family of the Lambs. Mr. Thomas Lamb, who was for a long time agent and first officer of the treasury, to which post he succeeded on the death of his father, made an attempt, for a short time, after the first passing of Mr. Crewe's bill, at setting up a private interest of his own, independent of the treasury, and actually returned —— Dickenson, Esq. to parliament (a gentleman in the interest of lord North), with the government candidate. He was quickly given to understand, however, that the treasury were determined to have *both* the members of its own nomination, and that the loss of places, &c. would be the immediate and certain consequence of disobedience. In a very short time afterwards, he returned to his duty and allegiance, having previously stipulated, that in future he would return treasury nominees only; but that they should make him some small douceur or compliment; far short, however, of the market-price of a seat. The bulk of this is appropriated to the commander-in-chief, the portion set apart for the subalterns and understrappers of the corporation being but trifling and inconsiderable. It appears from the old custumal of Rye, still in existence, that the right of voting formerly belonged, of course, to every person possessed of a freehold within the corporation, and to every son of a freeman. There was, besides, a third way of obtaining the freedom; namely, by redemption, but, by the contrivance and manœuvres of the agents of the treasury, the constitution has been wholly changed. By a determination of the house of commons in 1702, (to which we have already referred), the right of election for barons to serve in parliament for this port, is in the mayor, jurats, and freemen, inhabiting the said port, and paying scot and lot. But it was made a question, who are entitled to their freedom? The practice has been to admit freemen upon the following grounds only: eldest sons of freemen, at the age of twenty-one, are allowed to have a right; the mayor has a right to name one on coming

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into office; the others are to be proposed by him in the assembly, and approved by the majority of freemen present. From the account given by Carew, of a contested election here, it appears, that the number of freemen was, nominally, about fifty; but it was found expedient to keep it much lower, in order that the claimants to a portion of the good things produced by an election might be as few as decency would admit. If the eldest son of a freeman had the presumption to demand his birth-right of the corporation, if he were a poor man, it was refused to him; if he chanced to be in a superior situation, he was persuaded, if possible, to be made the mayor's freeman the year ensuing; the object of which manœuvre was, to erase, if possible, all traces of a right to freedom by birth. If the son of a freeman chanced at any time, either before or after his father's admission, to have a brother born before him, and by whose death he became the eldest, the right was (ridiculously enough) utterly denied, because he was not the first-born, which the corporation insisted was the meaning of the "eldest son."

In May last, however, the question as to the construction to be put upon the word, "freemen," in the decision of **1702**, was brought before a committee of the house of commons, on a petition from colonel Evans, against the return of P. Pusey, Esq. The case was argued at considerable length by counsel, those for the sitting member, in the interest of the corporation, contended that "freemen" meant only such persons as were admitted freemen by the *corporation;* and those on the other side, that "freemen" included all the resident inhabitants paying scot and lot. The decision of the committee was, that "all persons of good repute, who have been resident householders of Rye, paying scot and lot for a year and a day, are entitled to vote at the election of members to serve in parliament for that port." By this decision Mr. Pusey was unseated, and colonel Evans declared to have been duly elected. At the last general election

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however, the returning officer* rejected altogether the votes, which the committee had declared to be valid, and made the return in favour of the very parties against whose assumed jurisdiction it positively decided. Thus, while colonel Baillie and Mr. Bonham, the rev. Dr. Lamb's nominees, only mustered about twelve *votes*, colonel Evans and Mr. B. Smith, the members chosen by the town, polled nearly *two thousand* each, in addition to *six* of the corporators themselves. And yet the two former were declared to be duly elected! The ground upon which the votes for the popular candidates were rejected was—not that the parties had in any way forfeited their elective franchise, since the decision of the house—not because their qualifications were at all questionable—but because they had not submitted to the expensive process of a law suit, to establish their right of voting, *after it had been established by the parliamentary committee!* On examining the votes tendered for colonel Evans, it appeared that several persons had applied to the mayor, previous to the election, to be admitted to their freedom, but that he had *refused to comply with their request,* and the committee therefore ordered the votes of such persons to be put upon the poll. Subsequently to the decision of the committee, the same parties, together with a numerous body of respectable inhabitants, repeated their demands, but the mayor *still refused* to admit and swear them; and yet this same mayor, who acted as returning officer at the last election, taking advantage of his own wrong, absolutely set the house of commons at defiance, and refused to acknowledge even the votes which were put upon the poll by the committee, because the parties had not been to the court of king's bench for a mandamus, to confirm the decision of the committee; or, in other words, to compel him to admit and swear them, his only objection being that they were not duly admitted and sworn! To secure

* The brother of the reverend patron!

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this re-usurped right, the reverend patron obtained a committee of appeal, to re-hear the question, and in December last, it reversed the determination of the original committee, and thus threw back the representation into the hands of the reverend boroughmonger, and his dozen friends and adherents*.

Nothing can more strongly prove the defective and unwholesome state of the law for determining rights of election, than the mode in which this case has been dealt with. It would naturally be supposed that, according to all usual practice, a committee of appeal, being from its very essence a superior tribunal, would be composed of individuals possessing greater talent, or more competent to form a judgment of the matter in dispute, than that whose decision they are called upon to affirm or reverse, and more especially as their determination (according to the construction put upon the GRENVILLE Act) is to settle the right of election *for ever*. But how lamentably is the fact at variance with this natural supposition! Instead of any additional pains being bestowed in forming a committee of appeal, the members of it are taken at random from the body of the house; and, if many committees have been previously balloted for, it may be composed of members, the least accustomed to habits of business, and the least competent to determine the vital questions about to be brought before them. At the best, it is only an appeal from CÆSAR to CÆSAR; but it may be infinitely worse

* At a public meeting held at Rye, on the 20th December, a series of strongly-worded resolutions were adopted by the inhabitants, relative to this decision of the house. We will carry into effect the object of the remonstrants, by introducing the fourth resolution:—"That the just indignation of the men of Rye is roused against George Augustus Lamb, and the three individuals, Daniel Gill, Thomas Harrisson, and John Haddock Lardner, who have more particularly assisted in the subjugation of their fellow townsmen, and the subverting of their rights, by signing the appeal petition; and their names are here inserted, in order that they may be handed down to the execration of the latest posterity."

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—for the solemn decisions of experienced, highly-talented, and able individuals may be subjected to the revision of others, far less competent to form a correct judgment; and rights of election, established by county members, may be destroyed *for ever*, by the partial views of those sitting for the most notoriously rotten boroughs in the kingdom. The committee which sat in May last, determined as we have already stated. They declared, that according to ancient usage, all the inhabitants, being tax and rate payers, were entitled to be admitted and sworn as barons and freemen, and consequently to vote. The latter has declared that only the *eldest* sons of freemen, born after their fathers are made free, have such right. Upon what grounds the committee formed their resolution it is difficult to imagine, for none of the entries read from the town records support the exclusive right of *eldest* sons; and not a tittle of evidence was given on either side, in any way relating to the last custom which they found. The effect, however, of this decision will be to perpetuate that odious monopoly which has, for years past, enabled a clergyman of the church of England to return the members for Rye; and, if the other towns of the cinque ports, which have so long been deprived of their elective franchise, are to consider that their claims will meet with similar returns, the government will look in vain for that state of quiet and contentment which once distinguished the Kent and Sussex coast from most other parts of the kingdom.

Colonel Evans, who is immediately affected by the decision of the committee of appeal, has publicly addressed a very spirited remonstrance upon it, to the barons and freemen of the port of Rye, "Against your opponents," he observes, "the most flagrant and notorious usurpation and corruption were offered to be proved. The committee thought proper (whether legally it is not for me to say) to refuse to hear those proofs. In short, your rights may now again, as heretofore, be bartered in the political market without

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shame or hindrance. Two committees of the house of commons are now at issue. One—that of May last—declarin your householder tax-payers, contributing to rates and burdens, to be entitled to the elective franchise. The other —that an individual, with a few self-elected relatives and dependents, ought to be the sole and exclusive depositaries of this great constitutional right. To the distinguished public character of those composing the first of these tribunals, and the upright, honourable, and exemplary spirit in which they performed their judicial duty, I need not allude—it was a topic of general observation. They were unanimous. A difference of opinion appears to have prevailed amongst their successors. And on the claims to weight or consideration of the majority which has given this extraordinary award, I shall abstain from commenting. The mayor of your town, in August last, disobeyed with impunity the former of these decisions. I should like to know why *you have not an equal right to disobey the latter*. Decrees emanating from authority *have no title* to be held *indiscriminately sacred. Good laws deserve respect. Cruel and unjust ones execration**. They are a thousand times more to be deprecated than individual delinquency; for what are unjust edicts, in fact, but a provision for the impunity and perpetuation of crime? Of this perversion of legislation, history in general, and our own statute books in particular, unfortunately afford but too many examples."

We close this long but important article with the folowing petition, which has just been presented to the house

* Mr. Otway Cave, in a letter publicly addressed to the freemen of Hastings, uses similar language in reference to the decision of the Rye committee. He says, "In cases like yours, and under circumstances such as I have contemplated, resistance to illegal influence is an act of morality and duty. The time and mode are questions merely of calculation and expediency." We rejoice to find members of the legislature, and men of influence in the country, employing language, and propounding opinions such as these.

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of commons, by the people of Rye. "*The petition, &c. &c. of the inhabitants of Rye*—Humbly sheweth, that the obscurity natural to corruption, and the guilty collusion of artful, and often powerful accomplices, have so shrouded the prevailing venality in the representation to parliament, that the laws for the ostensible prevention of this greatest of evils have hitherto proved of no useful avail. That as your petitioners have been peculiar sufferers, under this shameful and ruinous abuse, they proportionately rejoice on the accession to the government of a ministry pledged to the repression of it. That under these circumstances, considering that information tending to elucidate the subject may be of use towards guiding the legislature, in the great remedial measures about to be entertained, your petitioners respectfully represent that, should your honourable house deem fit, in your wisdom, to pass a bill of indemnity, for the examination of accomplice witnesses—they (your petitioners) engage to prove at your bar—that the two seats in parliament, for this town and port of Rye, have regularly, for many years past, been sold or bartered for money, or other valuable considerations *, and that there are at present eleven individuals, either belonging to the established church, or members of either branch of the legislature, who have been concerned as principals in these foul and unlawful bargains; from whence flow, as a consequence, such grievous local, as well as general oppression, misery, and distress, throughout the empire. That though these high infringements of the liberties and privileges of parliament and the people, are as notorious as the sun at noonday, and though some of the persons actually implicated,

* It may be worth while to remark, for the purpose of showing the grossly mercenary principles of this reverend boroughmonger, that the political character of an HONOURABLE customer forms no consideration whatever, ministerial or anti-ministerial candidates are equally acceptable; it is the length of the purse only that determines the bargain. Mr. R. Knight, the present member for Wellingford, who is a regular reformer, became the representative for Rye, by opening his purse!

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have not hesitated occasionally to disclose, in private, the amount of the sums they have paid for nominally representing this town in your honourable house, there is, according to the framing of the existing laws, no probable method whatever of effecting a full exposition of those offences, but that which we respectfully suggest.—And that, should your honourable house deem it meet to adopt the same, it will be the means of bringing to light a series of curious, deplorable, and flagrant details, exemplifying conspicuously the character of the evil, and the urgent necessity of its removal—details, the exposure of which would, your petitioners therefore humbly conceive, be of material benefit at the present juncture, to the public interests. And your petitioners shall ever pray," &c.

This is plain speaking, and we know not how the house of commons can refuse to adopt the course proposed by the petitioners, who are respectable householders in Rye. The witnesses must, in justice to both parties, be examined. If the allegations turn out to be false, the parties should be prosecuted for a foul and malignant libel on the rev. Dr. Lamb; if they be true, he, with his accomplices—not excluding the *honourable* gentlemen—should be sent adrift in their own custom-house cutter, to form a corporation on some untrodden island. We wait with some degree of impatience to see what earl Grey, who himself once proposed a similar course to that of the petitioners, will do in the matter.

.....

Bainbridge, E. T. (St. Paul's Church Yard.) A banker, and a new member, who came in for Taunton at the last election, countenanced by Sir Thomas Lethbridge, who has considerable property in the borough. His professions

Taunton, *Somersetshire.* This is a borough town of considerable importance. It first returned members to parliament in the 23rd of Edward I. The right of election is vested in the *potwallers,* resident within the borough, not being paupers,

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to his constituents were in favour of retrenchment and reform, but always carefully qualified with "due regard for the GLORY *of the country," and respect for* ancient institutions." *The part which he has taken in the house has not been so prominent as to render it easy to form a fair estimate of his principles. He voted in favour of sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list.*

and who have not been such for six months previous to the election. The number of persons entitled to vote is about eight hundred; but previous to the last election, such had been the distress arising from the stagnation of trade, that great numbers of the voters had been disqualified, on account of having received parish relief. Although the elective franchise is so widely diffused among the inhabitants, as to come very near the point of universal suffrage, this borough is notoriously corrupt. The lodgers are brought to the poll by the occupiers of houses, and these, again, are at the beck of the superior landlords. An excellent additional argument in favour of the ballot, if any were wanting, may be drawn from the case of this borough.

.....

BALDWIN, C. B. (6, Parliament Street.) A new member, whose name is nowhere to be found, but in the list of members who voted against sir H. Parnell's motion for a committee on the civil list.

TOTNESS, *Devonshire.* This is an ancient borough, by prescription, and is governed by a mayor, thirteen members or assistants, two counsellors, and twenty burgesses. The mayor is the returning officer, and the right of election, first exercised 23rd Edward I. is in the freemen, whether resident or not, amounting to about *sixty*. The manor of Totness, alienated by Richard Edgcumbe, Esq. to the corporation, during the reign of Elizabeth, with the reservation of a

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rent of twenty-one pounds per annum, and the right of burgess-ship to his heirs for ever, makes the present *earl of Mount Edgcumbe* an hereditary *burgess* of this borough. Most of the property in it appertained, formerly, to the duke of Bolton, whence it descended to the right honourable Thomas Orde Powlett, father of the present lord Bolton.

.....

Balfour J. (3, Grosvenor Square.) This member is son-in-law to lord Lauderdale (see Peep), *and has voted against such motions as have been made for retrenchment and reform, as well as against the memorable motion on the civil list. The Spectator says, he was formerly civil servant to the East India company at Madras, and agent.*

Anstruther, *Scotland.*—This is one of royal burghs, comprising Crail, Kilrienny, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, and Pittenween. The member is elected by the corporation or council, consisting of about a dozen self-elected individuals!

.....

Bankes, H. (5, Old Palace Yard.) Proprietor of Corfe Castle, *father of the member for that rotten borough, and father-in-law to lord Falmouth* (see Peep). *He never had any fixed principles, and has been a contradiction all his life. It is of some importance, just at this time, when a vigorous effort is about to be made for a removal of the heavy duty on newspapers, and of the other restrictions on the press,* to remark *that this member was one of the most strenuous supporters of the six acts, when introduced by that distinguished statesman, lord Castlereagh. Upon "the seditous meeting bill," the object of which was to prevent public meetings for a redress of grievances, he said,* A permanent *measure of the kind was demanded by the*

Dorsetshire, *county.* This is considered to be one of the independent counties.

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condition of the people, who had been taught to read, and thus rendered inquisitive. When the bill for increasing the duty on newspapers, and preventing the publication of cheap periodical political pamphlets, was under discussion, he highly lauded the wisdom of the government, for the introduction of the kindred measures, but expressed his opinion, that they would fail to secure the peace and tranquillity of the country, unless they were accompanied by the proposed restrictions on the press. A cheap press, he declared to be the main spring of all the evil, which, if they neglected to regulate, in the way proposed, they left a mine that was working gradually and surely, and which would, in time, blow up both the government and the constitution of the country. It was the duty of parliament, he said, to lay the axe to the root of the evil; to suppress the press—he meant the abuse of the press [i. e. the extension of its benefits to the labouring and poorer classes of society]—if it did not, that power would, ere long, overturn every institution of the country.

.....

Bankes, G. (16, George Street, Hanover Square). Late secretary of board of control 1,800l, and cursitor baron of exchequer (a sinecure), at 455l. This member, and his father, were two of the most strenuous opponents of the catholic relief bill, and resisted it, step by step; as they did also the repeal of the test and corporation acts. Mr. G. Bankes, has, in addition, voted against almost

Corfe Castle, *Dorsetshire.* This is a borough in the isle of Purbeck, consisting of a few thatched cottages, belonging principally to Mr. H. Bankes, who, by his influence, returns both the members. It acquired the elective franchise in the 14th of Elizabeth. The right of voting has been determined to be in persons seized in fee, in possession or reversion, of any messuage, tenement, or corporeal hereditament

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every measure of retrenchment and reform, and was a strenuous supporter of the six acts.

within the borough; in tenants for life, or lives, and for want of such freehold, in tenants for years, determinable by life, or lives, paying scot and lot. The rector of Corfe Castle is the Rev. E. Bankes, another son of the proprietor, and who married a daughter of lord Eldon. The author of the Black Book quaintly remarks, that the inhabitants, of Corfe Castle must feel greatly indebted to the member for Dorsetshire, who appoints one of his sons to watch over their spiritual welfare, and sends another into the house of commons to take care of their temporal concerns. Mr. Calcraft had formerly some part of the borough, which he exchanged with Mr. Bankes, for an equal number of freeholds in his own borough of Wareham, which is about four miles distant. The number of nominal voters is about fourteen.

.....

Bankes, W. J. (5, Old Palace Yard). Brother to the member for Corfe Castle. He has voted against all reform.

Marlborough, *Wilts.* The right of election in this borough, conferred in the reign of Edward I., has been determined, by a committee of the house of commons, to vest exclusively in the mayor, who is returning officer, two bailiffs, and seventeen other capital burgesses. The inhabitants have made two or three ineffectual attempts to obtain an extension of the franchise, on the ground, that, as there were no mayor and corporation till Henry IV. these could not deprive the freemen of their ancient right of voting. The power of returning the members is exercised by the marquis of Aylesbury, in whose family the patronage has been since the time of Charles II.

.....

Baring, sir T. (21, Devonshire Place). Father

Wycombe, *Bucks.* This is a considerable borough

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of the member for Portsmouth.

in the county, but the right of voting, conferred by 28, Edward I. is in the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses not receiving alms—amounting to between sixty and seventy. The returning officers are the mayor and bailiffs. The first marquis of Lansdowne possessed sufficient influence to return one of the members for near thirty years, the other being returned by the Waller family; but at length the marquis became omnipotent, and he returned the two. Sir John Dashwood King, however, who possesses large property in the town, opposed the Lansdowne interest in 1790, and again in 1796, when he was returned. The marquis ultimately sold his property to lord Carrington. Sir John Dashwood King returns himself, and the corporation returns sir Thomas, from recollection of acts of kindness done by his father, Sir Francis Baring, who was introduced to the town by earl Shelburne, whose great friend he was.

.....

BARING, *W. B.* (12, *Great Stanhope Street*).

BARING, *A.* (82, *Piccadilly*).

W. B. is son to Alexander, and nephew to sir Thomas, the member for Wycombe. He married a daughter of the countess of Sandwich. In addition to the borough for which he sits, Mr. Alexander Baring possesses large estates in Suffolk, which give him the power of returning one of the members for Thetford. This gentleman's notions on the state

CALLINGTON, *Cornwall.* This is a little borough, without a corporation, but governed by a portreeve, chosen at the court-leet of the lord of the manor. The right of election, conferred by 27, Elizabeth, is vested in the possessors of about sixty burgage tenures. The borough was the property of lord Clinton, and was purchased from him by Mr. Alexander Baring, who returns himself and his son.

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of the country, and the measures he would be likely to pursue, may be gathered from some remarks he made in the house, in December last, in answer to something said by sir G. Warrender. After complaining of the publication *of the official salaries*, as being calculated to shake the general confidence (!) in public men, and even in the legislature (!!), he observed, that very little corruption had existed in the house since he had been a member of it; i. e. about fifteen years. On the subject of an inquiry into the general distress of the country, he expressed his doubts as to its utility. An inquiry into all the causes of the national distress could produce no good, and he should be sorry to see the house go into an inquiry which could not end in conferring credit on itself, or benefit on the public. "After all the schemes which had been brought forward, he must say—that he had no hopes that any legislative remedy could be found for such grievances. He could not think that an inquiry into* the general causes of distress would be useful. *Generally speaking, the* great interests of the country were not in an unfavourable position, *and what the country wanted was quiet, order, peace, and confidence." He has always resisted inquiry into the cause of the peoples' sufferings.*

.....

Baring, F. (17, New Street, Spring Gardens). Son of Mr. Alexander Baring, the boroughmonger, whose representative he is.

Thetford, *Norfolk.* This is a borough on the little Ouse, which here divides Suffolk from Norfolk, and is governed by a mayor, the aldermen, and twenty common council-men, who alone exercise the elective franchise. It has returned two members since 1, Edward IV. The mayor is the returning officer, and, in the year 1685 the gentleman who filled that office returned himself, but was

* See Carpenter's two "Letters to lord Althorpe."

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unseated on a petition, it being decided, that "No mayor or other officer, to whom the precept ought to be directed, is capable of being elected to serve in parliament, for the same borough for which he is mayor, bailiff, or officer, at the time of the election." The duke of Grafton and Mr. A. Baring now divide Thetford between them; the former returning lord C. J. Fitzroy, and the latter his own son.

.....

Baring, F. T. son of sir Thomas Baring, the member for Wycombe. He is a lord of the treasury, at 12,00*l. a year. No fault is to be found with his parliamentary conduct, as far as it is known.*

Portsmouth, *Hampshire.* This is a populous borough, sea-port, and market town; but the right of election, conferred 23, Edward I., is in the mayor, who is the returning officer, aldermen, and about one hundred burgesses. For a great number of years, the admiralty exercised the power of nominating the members, but a breach having been made between the corporation and the government, and the late lord Sandwich, who was the supporter of their influence in the borough, having been removed from the board of admiralty, they lost part of their influence, and are now compelled to share the representation with Mr. Carter, the other sitting member for Portsmouth, who is considered the patron of the borough.

.....

Barne F. (37, Grosvenor Street). A colonel in the army, and has a son, who is a gentleman of the privy chamber. He is returned for Dunwich, by his brother, who shares that borough with lord Huntingfield. His votes have been all on the wrong side.

Dunwich, *Suffolk.* See Archdeckne (p. 127).

.....

Bastard, J. A captain in the navy. His votes

Dartmouth, *Devonshire.* The right of election in this

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have been of the worst description: against all reform and retrenchment.

populous borough and seaport town, is monopolised by the corporation—consisting of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, twelve magistrates, twelve common-councilmen —and a few freemen of their own making. This is one of the government boroughs, under the immediate influence of the Houldsworth family, the members of whom are bankers and paper makers, who have, for a great number of years, returned both the members. The election is a mere farce, and might as well take place in one of the offices at the treasury.

.....

Bateson, sir R.

Londonderry, *county, Ireland.* See Jones, T.

....

Bayntun, S. A. (Regent Street.) A lieutenant in the army, and a new member. He came in on the tory interest, and pledged himself to support the protestant ascendancy. He did not vote for the committee on the civil list.

York, *city.* This is said to be one of the few places in England that are free in the exercise of their constitutional rights; that is, there is no man, or body of men, possessing sufficient power or influence to *command* the votes of those in whom the elective franchise vests. The elections, however, are carried by money, and the influence of earl Fitzwilliam and lord Dundas over the corporation. Mr. Bayntun expended £15,000 in his election. It has returned members to parliament since 49, Henry III., and parliaments were formerly held there. The right of election is in the corporation and freemen, who acquire their right by patrimony, servitude, purchase, or the gift of the corporation. The returning officers are the sheriffs; and the number of votes is thought to be about 3,000.

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Beaumont, T. W. (24, St. James's Place). An East India proprietor, and a man of liberal sentiments and conduct.

Northumberland, *county.* The people and the aristocracy are pretty well balanced in this county; so that the duke of Northumberland generally returns one member, and the freeholders the other. The elective franchise was conferred 22, Edward I.; but the return of members has often been interrupted by accidental circumstances, chiefly by the former wars between England and Scotland. In the 1, Edward III. it sent no members, because the county was too poor to defray their expenses to Lincoln, where the parliament sat. In the 34th year of the same king—there being but one knight in the county, and he sick—two other persons were returned by order, girt with swords. The present earl Grey sat for the county, during six successive parliaments.

.....

Beckett, right honourable sir John. (11, Stratford Place). Late judge advocate, at 2,500l a year, and son-in-law to the earl of Lonsdale (see Peep), *whose representative he is in the house of commons. He is the son of a banker and manufacturer at Leeds, and was created a baronet for his servility, and general advocacy of the Pitt system. His character will be seen, from his having voted* against *abolishing the office of lieutenant general of the ord-*

Haslemere. *Surrey.* This is a borough in the parish of Chidingfold, governed by a bailiff, chosen by the lord of the manor. The elective franchise, conferred 27, Elizabeth, is in the holders of about sixty freeholds, the majority of which are the property of the earl of Lonsdale, who is lord of the manor, and who has therefore the absolute nomination of both the members. Oldfield has an account of this place containing many particulars of great interest; we select the following, as admirably

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nance, repeal of the test and corporation acts, catholic relief bill, all motions for reform in parliament, and reform in chancery, sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list, &c. &c.

illustrative of the general method of managing these pocket boroughs. The late earl of Lonsdale, not thinking it safe to trust any of the inhabitants with a conveyance of these freeholds, actually sent forty of his labourers, from his collieries in the north of England, to reside in the borough, erected cottages for their accommodation, and allowed them half a guinea a week each, beside what they might earn by their labour, if they thought proper to work. All he required of these black gentlemen in return, was to choose two members of his own nomination for Haslemere.

These men continued to reside in the borough during the remainder of that nobleman's life, a period of more than twenty years; and elected the members who represented it in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth parliaments of Great Britain, chosen at the general elections of 1780, 1784, 1790, and 1796.

Upon the death of the late earl, the present one, thinking the expense of supporting these men might be dispensed with, dismissed them, and sent them home; the consequence of which was, that at the general election in 1812, two opposition candidates appeared, admiral Richard Greaves, and his son, Samuel Colletan Greaves, esq.! The earl of Lonsdale, having made no conveyance of any of his forty freeholds, nor lord Gwydir of the twenty-four belonging to him, there was not a single voter to be found in the borough. In this dilemma, there was only one stratagem to be resorted to, which was, to cause the bailiff, who is appointed by the earl of Lonsdale, to adjourn the poll to the next day; and, in the mean time, to put all the attornies who could be procured from the neighbouring towns, in a state of requisition, to make out as many conveyances as the time would admit by the next morning. This was accordingly put in practice,

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and by nine o'clock on the following day, about a dozen or fourteen parchment voters were created for the occasion. These were all objected to by Mr. Dinsey, counsel for the opposition candidates, as sham conveyances of tenements, for which the pretended freeholders were all paying rents to the earl of Lonsdale at the time; but all of them were admitted as good voters by the returning officer! At the same time, seven persons, claiming to be real freeholders, and resident inhabitants within the borough, tendered their votes for admiral Greaves and his son, but were all rejected by the bailiff.

This conduct in the returning officer produced a petition from the opposite candidates, which was brought to a hearing the first session of the ensuing parliament, when Mr. Sergeant Pell, counsel for the petitioners, called the earl of Lonsdale's steward, to prove, that the noble earl was possessed of all the freeholds for which the persons who polled for the sitting members had voted. The examination of this witness was objected to, on the ground of his being an agent to lord Lonsdale. On the opposite side it was contended, that if he had been agent to the sitting members, it might be objected to his examination; but his being agent to a peer of the realm, who had no right to interfere in the election of members of parliament, had no such effect. But his examination was not permitted. Lord Lonsdale's rent collector was then called, to prove, that he received rent from all the pretended freeholders for the premises they occupied, and for which they voted at the last election. His evidence was refused, for the same reason as the former. The occupiers of the pretended freeholds were at last called to prove, that they paid rent to the earl of Lonsdale for the same, and that they only received the conveyances of the freeholds on the morning of election, and returned them as soon as they had voted. The committee, however, resolved, that these men could not be examined disqualify their own votes! The petitioners having no other means of proving their case, the right honourable Charles

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Long, and Robert Ward, esqs., the sitting members, were declared duly elected!

.....

Belfast, earl of, (23, Arlington Street). Vice chamberlain in the king's household, 600l. a-year. He is the eldest son of the marquis of Donegal (see Peep), *but his lordship could not legally claim the family honours, until the passing of the late marriage act, which was concocted for his special service. It appears that lord Belfast, some years since, solicited the hand of an accomplished daughter of an English earl, but, upon examining the family records and marriage settlements, it was discovered that his lordship's mother, the present marchioness of Donegal, was illegitimate, notwithstanding that her father (Sir Edward May) and mother had been duly wedded. The fact was, that lady May had a previous husband living in the East Indies, at the time of her second marriage, and for many years subsequent to it. The discovering of this fact, which rendered the marriage null, and repudiated the claims of the marchioness' children, produced the utmost consternation in the family, and an act of parliament was ascertained to be the only thing that could set all to rights. To procure this, it was necessary to strenghten and extend the interest of the family. The promise of the earl of Glengal's daughter was obtained for the earl of Belfast; and this lady being the niece of*

Antrim, *county, Ireland.* Previous to the legislative union with England, the county of Antrim was by far the most independent part of the constituent body in Ireland; but, as Moore says, "Since that period, that spirit is broken, which never could bend." Antrim is now nothing better than a close borough, which is divided among, or scrambled for, by the lords Donegall, Hertford, Downshire, and O'Neill, and the house of Macdonell.

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lady Manners, whose husband was lord high chancellor of Ireland, his connection with the Rutland family, and other influential aristocrats, enabled him to procure the passing of the necessary measure! Lord Belfast was thus purified and legitimatised, and became the husband of the lady before spoken of. His chief use in parliament is to keep a better man out. When he has attended and voted, it has been on the wrong side.

.....

Belgrave, viscount, (15, Grosvenor Square). Eldest son of the earl of Grosvenor (see Peep), *was formerly member for the city of Chester, which is entirely at the disposal of his father; but, at the last election, he was returned for the county, in the place of Mr. Davenport, who retired. At a dinner given to his lordship, previous to the election, captain Humphreys paid him a compliment, by remarking, that his lordship was a moderate whig; and if so, he must likewise be a moderate tory. His lordship replied to this logical compliment, by saying, "Gentlemen, I stand before you as a liberal whig, and though some might differ from me in the definition of the terms whig and tory, yet I am of opinion that the bounds are so extremely fine, that it is impossible to distinguish them!" His lordship's attendance in parliament is very irregular; but he has voted for reform and retrenchment.*

Cheshire, *county.* This county, which enjoyed particular privileges as a palatinate, has sent members since 34, Henry VIII. The prevailing influences are earl Grosvenor, lords Crewe, Dè Tabley, and Bulkley, and the Cholmondeleys. The expense of a contest being so enormous—from 20,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*—the members are generally returned by compromise; one for each party.

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Bell, Matthew, (35, Wimpole Street). This gentleman is one of "the landed interest;" and he has always voted like a true one; namely, against all measures for reform. Northumberland. See Beaumont. (p. 152).

.....

Benett, John, (19, Albemarle Street). This member's first speech in parliament was, I believe, upon the introduction of lord Castlereagh's infamous six acts, in 1819, which he opposed, as being uncalled for, and unnecessary. He is "a moderate reformer," and generally votes for retrenchment. He is an active magistrate in the county for which he sits; but rendered himself very obnoxious by the want of feeling he displayed, in giving his evidence before a committee of the house of commons, some few years since, on the condition of the agricultural labourers, the parochial allowance for whom, he recommended, should be a gallon loaf and three pence a-week; i. e. a pound of bread, and one half-penny a-day! Wiltshire. See Astley. (p. 130.)

In the course of the discussion which took place in the house of commons, on the 8th of February, on Mr. Hunt's motion for a general amnesty to the unfortunate men convicted and sentenced under the special commissions, the honourable member stated that he was in possession of evidence, that the member for Wilts paid his labourers wages amounting to but two pence halfpenny a-day! During the recent riots in the agricultural districts, Mr. Benett's premises were assailed, and a machine on them broken, as well as himself assaulted. He was appointed foreman of the grand jury, before whom the bills of indictment against the rioters were laid, and subsequently gave evidence in court against them. Upon these proceedings, some very strong remarks were

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publicly made, in consequence of which Mr. Benett addressed a letter to several of the newspapers, in which he stated, that he withdrew from the jury room, during the time that the bills against the men by whom his own property had been assailed were under consideration. Mr. Benett's landed property is very extensive, and he is said to have been one of the first persons in the county of Wilts who subverted the good old plan of keeping the farms within moderate dimensions. His elections have cost him above £40,000; nearly half the anount of his estate, created by his father, who began life as a substantial yeoman.

.....

Bentinck, lord George, (19, Cavendish Square). Son of the duke of Portland (see Peep), *and lieutenant colonel in the army. He is nephew to lord W. Bentinck, who is governor of India, clerk of the pipe, and a colonel of hussars. receiving, about 28,000l. of the public money, including his allowances as governor general of India, every year! Another of his uncles, C. Greville, takes about 2,050l. a year, and two of his cousins, C. C. F. Greville, and A. Greville, about 5,250l. His parliamentary conduct, however, has been liberal. He voted, in* 1821, *for the late queen; for the catholics;*

King's Lynn, *Norfolk.* This is an ancient borough by prescription, governed by a mayor, a high steward, an under steward, a recorder, twelve aldermen, eighteen common-councilmen, and other officers. The mayor is the returning officer, and the right of election, conferred 23, Edward I., is in the freemen. The voters, about three hundred in number, are, and have been for many years, under the influence of the earl of Orford, who returns his brother, colonel Walpole. The corporation attached itself to sir Robert Walpole, whose residence was near the town—and that attachment has continued to be shewn to the

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or repeal of test and corporation acts; for repeal of malt tax; for Mr. Brougham's motion on droits of admiralty; for several motions on reform; for deduction of influence of the crown; for repeal of six acts; for Manchester inquiry; for reduction of lay lords; ditto the army; against alien bill; for abolishing treasurership of navy, and lieutenant-generalship of ordnance; for Mr. P. Thomson's motion for modification of taxes; for inquiry into privy council emoluments; for inquiry into crown lands; and many other motions for reform and retrenchment.

family until the present day. The corporation, however, is becoming liberal, and colonel Walpole, who is an admirer of a tory goverment, would have lost his election, if he had been opposed by any respectable person. His seat is by no means secure.

.....

Beresford, sir I. P. (54, Harley Street). Brother of viscount Beresford, son of the first marquis of Waterford (see Peep, *for both these peers), and vice admiral in the navy. He has voted against all motions for reform and retrenchment.*

Northallerton, *Yorkshire.* This rotten borough is not distinguished by one hundred and eighteen stones, like Midhurst; nor by a foundation wall, like that most rotten of all rotten things, Old Sarum; but by the appearance of a certain number of chimneys, upon tenures now used as cow-houses or stables, in which a chimney is preserved, as a memorial of the right! It is a borough belonging to lord Harewood, *(see Peep)* who returns his son, the honourable H. Lascelles, and this member. The franchise has existed here since 26, Edward 1. There is no corporation; but the returning officer is the bailiff, appointed by the bishop of Durham.

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Beresford, lieutenant colonel, Marcus. Was lately secretary to lord Beresford, and then master of the ordnance. He is one of the *Beresfords who have so enormously fleeced the public, in a variety of ways, and, as is fitting, his votes have been given for the continuance of every expensive abuse, and* against *all motions for retrenchment, amelioration, and reform.*

.....

Beresford lord George, (30, Charles Street, St. James'). Uncle to the present marquis of Waterford, and a colonel in the dragoons. His political, parliamentary, and military character is too well known to require distinct specification here. His lordship would make an admirable Turkish pacha, and might, in his acts of heroism, compete with the celebrated Djezzar Pasha, or the butcher. During the last century, the Beresford faction ruled Ireland with the iron hand of oppression. Transportation without trial, flogging, picketting, the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the introduction of martial law and foreign troops, were some of the means employed by their minions, for the purpose of allaying the just discontents of the Irish people, and reconciling them to the blessings promised by the legislative union. Their influence is now on

Berwick-upon-Tweed. This borough is governed by a mayor, recorder, one alderman, and four bailiffs. The franchise, conferred by Henry VIII. is in the freemen, resident and non-resident, about seven hundred in number; but the property of the marquis of Waterford gives him the power of returnining this member.

.....

Waterford, *County*, Ireland. This county has hitherto been completely under the controul of the Beresfords; but at the last election Mr. O'Connell succeeded in obtaining a sufficient number of votes to divide the representation with them.

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the wane, but it is still adequate to the maintenance of family honours, to the following extent:—

The most reverend lord John George de la Poer Beresford, "a father in God," *archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland. His lordship was uncle to the late marquis, and during the eight years that preceded his elevation to the see of Armagh, he was dean of Clogher—bishop of Raphoe—bishop of Clogher, and archbishop of Dublin. With such rapidity did he reach the primate's chair, from the see of Dublin, that* JOCELYN, *who succeeded him in Clogher, in* 1821, *was excommunicated by him, as primate of all Ireland, in* 1822. *Independent of the immense patronage of the see of Armagh, there is no getting at any thing like an exact calculation of its yearly value. It extends over the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Louth, and a part of Meath. Armagh, which is a small county, and is termed the garden of Ulster, has* 86,000 *acres of land belonging to the see; and if we put a renewal fine of only five shillings an acre, upon all belonging to the bishopric, it will produce upwards of* 100,000 *a-year! Let us, however, say* - - - - - - - - - 50,000*l.*

Viscount Beresford, *a general, who has pensions and situations, to the yearly amount of* - - - 4,282*l.*

The right reverend lord George de la Poer Beresford, *a cousin, and bishop of Kilmore* 8,000*l.*

H. B. Beresford, *a cousin, for compensation* - 2,157*l.*

John Claudius Beresford, *better known by the name of "Triangle Jack," on account of his partiality for flogging the people in the year* 1798. *This man was a banker, and afterwards a bankrupt; he is a cousin, and has compensation* - - - - - - - - - - - 2,157*l.*

Major general lord George, *a regiment of dragoons* - - - - - - - - - - - - 7,450*l.*

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There are many other lucrative situations rated under a thousand a-year, and of which (particularly in Ireland) the Beresfords have, no doubt, the lion's share. But there is no getting at them, as there is no return yet made.

The peerages give the following "nice pickings," as having been held and enjoyed by the Beresford family. The list is extremely imperfect, but it exhibits quite enough to shew that the system that can place such enormous revenues and influence at the disposal of one family, none of the members of which have been distinguished for any thing more than talents of a very mediocre description, must be radically bad:—

John George, *archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland.*

John de la Poer, *a commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, taster of wines in the port of Dublin(!), and privy counsellor.*

George, *lord bishop of Kilmore.*

John Claudius, *privy counsellor, and alderman in the city of Dublin.*

William, *lord archbishop of Tuam, since created baron Decies.*

Henry, *marquis of Waterford, a privy counsellor in Ireland, governor of the county of Waterford, and colonel of the Waterford militia.*

Viscount Beresford, *a general in the army, and colonel of the* 88*th regiment of foot, governor of Jersey, with a pension of* 2000*l. per annum, to himself and his two immediate successors in the barony.*

Sir John-Poer, *a rear admiral of the blue.*

Lord George Thomas, *a privy counsellor, late comptroller of the household, governor and custos rotulorum of Waterford, and colonel of the first dragoons. His half pay is about* 800*l.*

Lady Catherine Poer, *wife of the late earl of Tyrone, marrying into this family, that barony has devolved here.*

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Bernal R. (11, *Park Crescent, Portland Place*). *A West India proprietor. He is exemplary in the discharge of his parliamentary duties, and has spoken and voted against almost every measure intended to abridge the liberties of the people,*

Rochester, *Kent.* This is a corporation town, but the right of election, which has existed since 23, Edward I. vests in all the freemen not receiving alms, in number between six and seven hundred. Its vicinity to Chatham, and the number of dockyard, custom-house, and revenue officers resident in it, give to the treasury the return of one member. The return of the other is by the influence of the purse, backed by public opinion.

.....

Bernard, viscount, (3, *Connaught Place*). *Eldest son of the earl of Bandon, and son-in-law to the late archbishop of Cashel,* (See Peep.) *He has a brother who is dean of Leighlin, and a sister married to viscount Doneraile. He belongs to the anti-liberal school.*

Bandonbridge, *Ireland.* A borough in the county of Cork, under the influence of the earl of Bandon and the duke of Devonshire, who nominate for alternate parliaments.

.....

Bernard, Thomas, (6, *Sackville Street*). *A colonel of militia. He first married the honourable Elizabeth Prettie, one of the daughters of the first lord Dunally, and sister to the present baron, and subsequently a niece of the earl of Donoughmore. He has voted against reform and retrenchment.*

King's County, *Ireland* According to the Spectator, there are about six hundred registered freeholders in this county. The members are said to owe their seats to forbearance and management: a strong popular excitement would, it is thought, turn out both, who are much weakened by the change of ministry.

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Bethell, R. (29, Southampton Buildings). This is a new member. He voted in favour of sir H. Parnell's motion for inquiry into the civil list; but objected to Lord John Russell's reform bill, as too extensive. He prefers the 'pruning-knife' to 'the axe.'

Yorkshire. This county exceeds in population New York, one of the United States in America, and yet, such is the anomalous state of our representation, that it has only an equal influence in parliament with the two boroughs of Sarum and Bramber, both of which are destitute of even nominal voters. It has sent members since 18, Edward I. The expense of contested elections in such an extensive county, is so great as to render them of seldom occurrence. The last memorable contest was in 1807, and was carried on between the honourable Henry Lascelles, son of the earl of Harewood, and Mr. Wilberforce. It is said that the election, to the whole of the candidates, was nearly half a million sterling! At the last general election, Mr. Stapylton opposed Mr. Brougham, who had been invited to stand for the county, but the worthy knight ran away, and left the field in possession of his antagonist.

.....

Biddulph, R. M. (Clarendon Hotel). A new member. He voted for inquiry into the civil list, on sir H. Parnell's motion.

Denbigh, *Wales*. This borough, which is the county town of Denbighshire, is governed by a corporation, consisting of two aldermen, a recorder, two bailiffs, and twenty-three burgesses, and has sent a member to parliament since 32, Henry VIII.; the number of voters being about six hundred. It was formerly under the patronage of the Myddletons, of Chirke Castle, which patronage passed into the hands of the present member, by the marriage of his father, and is contested with the honourable Mr. West, the brother of earl Delawar, whose father married the co-heiress.

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Blair, W. (18, Downing Street). A colonel in the militia, and, judging from the vote papers, his parliamentary attendance must be bad, indeed, for we can find no trace of him there, except on one occasion, and that was to vote against the civil list inquiry!

Ayr, *county, Scotland.* The earls of Eglintoun and Cassilis have the prevailing influences in this county, which has sent a member to parliament since the reign of Anne.

.....

Blackett, C. A new member, about whom we know nothing; not being able to find a speech or a vote in the books.

Beeralston, *Devonshire.* This is a hamlet to the village of Beerferris, consisting of only a few miserable cottages. The right of election is in those who possess land in the borough, and pay threepence acknowledgement to the lord, upon whose will the number of voters is altogether dependent. The plan adopted here is similar to that in other burgage-tenure boroughs; namely, a tenure is granted to some dependent of the proprietor, who resigns it up to the lord as soon as the vote has been given. The whole property belonged to the first duke of Northumberland, who left it to his son, the recently deceased earl of Beverley. Colonel Jones states, that at the last election, no electors were summoned to the farce, but that merely the returning officer and his clerk attended. We find the following curious statement, however, in an evening paper, dated shortly after the last election, whence it was copied into the *Times* and other journals. "There are at present only two voters, and these two determined at the last election to throw off the Beverley yoke. Accordingly, through friends, they negociated to return two gentlemen for their own profit, instead of that of his lordship. The portreeve is Dr. Butler of Plymouth; but he is merely returning officer, and has no vote. Dr. Butler, accompanied by an attorney's clerk, set out at the last

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general election, and met the voters under a great tree, the place usually chosen for the purpose of election. During the time the portreeve was reading the acts of parliament usually read on such occasions, one of the voters handed to him a card, containing the names of two candidates, proposed by himself, and seconded by his friend. He was told by the attorney's clerk that this was too early. Before the reading was completed, the voter on the other side handed in a card corresponding with the former, and he was informed that he was too late. The meeting broke up. The portreeve and assistants adjourned to a public house in the neighbourhood, and then and there made a return of lord Lovaine, and Mr. Blackett, which was not signed by a single person having a vote!"

The death of the earl of Beverley, and the succession of his son, lord Lovaine, to the peerage, having occasioned a vacancy in the representation of the borough, another election was held on the 11th of January, at which it was more difficult to procure electors than candidates. Mr. Lyons and Mr. Attwood were put in nomination, and a poll demanded; and although the portreeve did not go so far as upon the former occasion, and refuse the poll, he did what was equal to it, in the result, namely, refuse to admit any votes for the candidate to whose election he was personally opposed. The following description of the proceedings on this occasion,* will shew what a Beeralston election is.

Major-general George Bowden Adams, of Bowden, near Totness, Devon, claims to vote as a freehold tenant, burgess tenure, in the borough, and answers as follows. Does not know how long the property has been in his possession; say some years, but will not say if two months: declines answering any questions. Does not know who was present when the deeds was executed; does not know whose possession the deeds were in; they were not in his own; and will not answer. Declines answering how much value he

* From the Spectator.

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gave for it; declines answering if ever he saw the property; declines to say in what street it is; declines answering whether it consists of a dwelling house or a field; does not recollect when he was admitted a burgess. Voted for David Lyons, Esq. and allowed.

The agent for John Attwood. Esq. rose and addressed the portreeve, upon allowing the above gentlemen to vote, stating his opinion upon the manner in which they were put forward as free burgesses. Their answers to his questions plainly showed, that had the property been really and *bona fide* their own, no objection would have been made to answer in a straight forward manner. The portreeve gave no explanation, but merely said that he would allow their votes. Richard Toll was then called forward, and said, he claimed to vote for the borough of Beeralston, as a free burgess, as a freeholder, he stated that the property was his own, and the deeds in his own possession. He voted for Mr. Attwood. The portreeve rejected the voter. Thomas Northey of Beerferris, within the borough of Beeralston, Devon, carpenter, claimed to vote as a freeholder and a free burgess; the property in his own possession, and could produce the deeds. He voted for Mr. Attwood, rejected by the portreeve.

Mr. Attwood's agent asked the portreeve upon what ground he could possibly reject the two last votes tendered, who were precisely holding the same tenure as those allowed on the behalf of Mr. Lyons; he should be much obliged if the portreeve would state his objections. The portreeve then stated, that he rejected the votes upon the grounds of their not being freehold tenants of the borough, holding by burgess tenure, and paying three-pence per annum, or more, burgess rent to the lord of the borough; and because they had not been present, admitted, and sworn at the lord's court.

It was argued by Mr. Attwood's agent, that there not having been any court held for upwards of forty years, none of Mr. Lyons' voters could have any right to vote, as

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without a court no rent could have been paid by either the one party or the other; if one was allowed, the other must be, or *vice versa;* and it was most strongly urged to the portreeve to act justly, and unbiassed by any party. The portreeve merely said that he should not alter his decision.

Captain John Bastard, of Sheepham, Devon, claims to vote as a freehold burgess, paying burgess rent. Declines to say where he paid the rent, or when; declines to answer if before Tuesday last; declines answering if he has the deeds; declines answering if he gave any consideration for the property; has had possession for some years; declines to say when he was put in possession; declines to answer who has the deed; declines to say if he received the rents; does not remember the date of the deeds, or who offered the property to him; declines to answer who he delivered the deeds to; declines to say he ever saw the property, or where it is. Allowed by the portreeve, on behalf of Mr. Lyons. Protested against on behalf of Mr. Attwood, on the ground of not having property in the borough.

Rev. Coryndon Luxmore, Brideslaw, Devon, clerk, claims to vote as paying burgess rent of three-pence, &c.; has had possession some years; says the deeds are in safe custody; declines to say if he ever gave security to deliver up the deeds; declines answering if they are now in lord Beverley's possession; declines to answer if the property was made over to him for the purpose of voting. Has paid the burgess rent lately; won't answer when, if in last week, if on Friday, or before; won't answer if he paid the burgess rent to-day for the first time; won't answer where it is situate; has seen it, but won't answer what it consists of; refuses to answer whether he, or the lord of the manor repaired it. Allowed by the portreeve to vote for Mr. Lyons.

Christopher Harris, esq. Plymouth, Devon, banker, claims to vote as a household burgess, &c. The freehold is in Pepper Street, has had possession sixteen years, has had the deeds; won't answer what consideration he gave; the deeds

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were not made before an election; declines to say who asked him to buy the property; he did not apply to buy; declines to say when he received rents; the tenant can best inform you about the payment of rent; declines to say when he was first in possession; if ten years, if fifteen years, if in possession now; declines to say if lord Beverley's agent has the deeds; declines to say when he paid the burgess rent; has paid some within fifteen years; won't say when; if within a month, three days, or when he received those deeds; he gave no security to deliver them up; had given no pledge to any one; declines to say who repairs the property; never has repaired it himself; declines to say who his tenant is. Voted for Mr. Lyons, allowed as before. All this was of course protested against on behalf of Mr. Attwood. The following seven persons voted for Mr. Lyons.

William Foot, Devonport, solicitor; George Bowden Adams, Bowden, near Totness, Devon, major general; John Bastard, Sharpham, Devon, captain royal navy; Rev. Coryndon Luxmore, Brideslaw, Devon, clerk; Christopher Harris, Plymouth, Devon, banker; Joseph Dawe, Buckland, Monachorum, farmer, and a bankrupt in 1824; Jonathan Luxmore, Plymouth, Devon, solicitor.

Thirty-one persons, having the same pretensions as the voters for Mr. Lyons, tendered their votes for Mr. Attwood, but were uniformly rejected by the portreeve. These persons are free burgesses, and inhabitant householders, paying scot lot; some are also freeholders. Among them was one clergyman, one surgeon, ten farmers; the rest were carpenters, masons, miners, blacksmiths, and labourers. It is said that the seven voters who elected Mr. Lyons are strangers to the place; that they were never known before to have any property in the borough, and did not even know where the property, through which they pretended to claim, was situated!

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Blake, sir Francis. (Twisel Castle, Durham). "A country gentleman," a brother to Robert D. Blake, a lieutenant-general in the army. He has been pretty constant in his parliamentary attendance, and voted in favour of almost every liberal measure.

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Blandford, marquis of. Eldest son of the duke of Marlborough (see Peep), *and brother to lord Churchill, who sits for the same borough. Since the passing of the catholic relief bill, to which he was strenuously opposed, the marquis of Blandford has taken a very decided part in advocating the necessity of a thorough reform in the house of commons, the carrying of that measure having induced him to believe that it does not represent the opinions and feelings of the people; and also excited an apprehension that the close boroughs might be bought up by the wealthy Catholic aristocracy, for the purpose of filling the house of commons with their agents, and thus possessing the constitution of England! But whatever may have been the motive which induced the marquis to enter on his reforming career, he has from that time laboured hard to realize his wishes.*

Berwick-upon-Tweed. See Beresford, page 160.

Woodstock (*New*), *Oxon.* This little borough has returned two members to parliament since 30, Edward I., the elective franchise being vested in the corporation and freemen, in number between two and three hundred. In the reign of Anne, the manor and honour of the borough and hundred were settled on John duke of Marlborough, and his descendants. Blenheim, the splendid national seat of the family, is in the immediate vicinity of the town. The duke, who of course possesses the entire patronage, had his two sons returned to parliament at the last election.

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In June, 1829, *he introduced a substantive motion for reform into parliament, and in February*, 1830, *he moved for leave to bring in a bill to restore the influence of the commons in the parliament of England—by transferring the elective franchise from decayed or rotten boroughs, to populous unrepresented towns, by investing all inhabitant householders in cities and boroughs, paying scot and lot, and all copyholders, and certain leaseholders in the counties, with the right of voting for representatives in parliament—by restoring the ancient principle and practice of paying the members of parliament during their parliamentary attendance—by making parliaments triennial—by abolishing the pecuniary qualification for citizens and burgesses to sit in parliament; and requiring them to be resident inhabitants of the places for which they sit—by excluding from the house of commons all persons who hold an office or place of profit under the king, or who receive a pension from the crown. Upon a division, the motion was lost by a majority of* 103. *In denouncing the corruption which notoriously prevailed in securing the return of members to parliament, under the influence of men who made a traffic of the representation, and arraigning the conduct of the house of commons for the indifference and apathy with which they looked on, while the dearest liberties of the people were thus sacrificed to the venality and ambition of a cormorant aristocracy, the noble marquis expressed himself to the following effect:—*

"The venality of these boroughs is as sure as their existence, and both are equally notorious; but there is a wide difference between the notoriety of such offences, and a parliamentary recognition of their existence. Mere notoriety begets defiance of public opinion, and a fearless habit of offending. But if parliament, by a formal vote, had put its brand-mark upon these transactions—if, by some general resolution, it had stigma

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tized them as crimes against the law of parliament and the constitution of the country, a good foundation would then have been laid for the reform of what had been declared to be true, and for the prevention of what had been denounced as illegal. But it did not seem good to the majority of this house to hurt the sensibilities of the boroughmonger, by calling his trade by its proper name, or to injure his interests by saying that his gains were condemned by parliament and the country. The people however will speak out, though parliament may choose to keep silence, or may try to impose silence upon others. The voice of the country is not to be stifled by a vote of this house—it will be in vain to attempt to smother truth —not all the finesse of all the political intriguers, nor all the power of all the political despots, will be able to stem or turn aside the current which is now setting in, full and strong, against the present system of chaffering for seats in this house. It is in vain to attempt to deck these transactions in all sorts of gaudy colours, and to call them happy methods of introducing to public notice modest merit and latent talent, and virtue, and patriotism, and I know not what besides. It is in vain to reckon upon the whigs and the tories of note, and of no note, who have contrived to bring themselves and their dependents into parliament by these back-gates and by-ways. The thing retains the same character of corruption, whether it generates the venal statesman, or the useful member of parliament; the splendid fly that soars in this house upon the wings of eloquence, or the grub that feeds upon the vitals of the country—corruption is the father of them all. Neither will all the speeches of all the approvers of such a system be able to make corruption incorrupt, or convert the borough business into a blessing, or legalise the wholesale trade of selling seats. As matters now stand, the fury of the law may be said to mistake its objects; it passes over the daring outrages

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upon the constitution, in order to fall with redoubled violence upon the petty assaults and petty larcenies committed against the rights and liberties of the subject, and purity of elections. The storm of parliamentary enactments has fallen upon the small tradesman and retail dealers in the bribery line. Many a wordy statute pours its thunders upon the head of the starveling who sells his vote, and dines upon his degradation; but our code contains no store of wrath, no pains, nor penalties, nor censures, for the great and extensive ready-money trade in returns to parliament. Seats, two or ten at a time, may be bought and sold, and all concerned will continue, all, all honourable men—and they will find in this house not merely apologists, but panegyrists—they may even be extolled for true patriots—and the ready-money method of getting a seat is extolled, too, and is called patriotic, and expedient, and constitutional, and just as it ought to be!"

We have put this extract from the speech of the noble marquis upon record, because it admirably characterises some of the most flagrant existing abuses in the representative system, and speaks plainly as to the mode in which they are cherished by the honourable house.

Upon several subsequent occasions, the marquis has called the attention of the house to the necessity of parliamentary reform, and other measures connected with the well-being of the country, and has more than once divided the house on ministerial motions for granting the supplies, which he contended ought not to be had, until justice had been done to the people's wrongs. Upon the first assembling of the present parliament, the noble marquis moved the adoption by the house of a very able and spirited address to the throne, by way of an amendment to that which had been prepared by the ministers; in which address he stated, that the previous parliament was held in utter hatred and contempt by the

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majority of the people, in that it had turned a deaf ear to their complaints, and seemed to consider itself of no other use but to vote, night after night, immense sums of money to be drawn from the pockets of the people, exhibiting at the same time the utmost indifference in what manner such enormous sums were to be obtained—that by the profligacy of the ministers and the parliament, thousands of the industrious classes had been driven from competence to pauperism, and several starved to death—that every labouring man who earned and expended 30l. a year, had 18l. taken from him in taxes, direct or indirect—and that all this resulted from the unconstitutional and odious interference of a few wealthy individuals, in returning members to parliament, and becoming buyers and sellers of seats in the house of commons, which gave them the power of laying taxes, and then distributing them among themselves and their connexions. The amendment was supported by Mr. O'Connell; it is scarcely necessary to say that it was negatived by the house. We confess, however, after all, that there are circumstances which induce us to doubt whether the marquis of Blandford be a real *reformer. His vote upon the approaching great question will determine.*

.....

Blayney, hon. C. D. Son of lord Blayney and nephew to the earl of Caledon (see Peep.) *This is his first appearance in parliament, and we cannot meet with his name, except among the votes in favour of sir H. Parnell's motion. He refused to make any promises to his constituents, or to declare his political principles, and only obtained his election by the manœuvres of the orange faction!* Monaghan *county, Ireland*

.....

Blount, Edward. (Bryanstone Square). This gentleman was secretary to Steyning, *Sussex.* This is a borough consisting of half a street, in length little

the late British catholic association, and is auditor to the duke of Norfolk, under whose direction he is returned for his seat. We can only meet with him once in the house, and that in the majority on the civil list.

more than equal to Paternoster Row! The other half forms the borough of Bramber; and these two places send four members to the house of commons! There is no corporation, and the right of election (31st Hen. VI.) is in the constable (the returning officer), and resident householders paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms, about 100 in number. It is the sole property of the duke of Norfolk, who therefore returns the members.

.....

Bonham, H. R. This gentleman is one of the rev. Dr. Lamb's nominees, and was brought in by the other member, colonel Ballie. We can trace his movements in the house of commons but thrice since his election; but this is enough He voted against abolishing the office of lord lieutenant of the ordnance, against repeal of test and corporation acts, and against sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list. He formerly pretended to be a whig, but has latterly attached himself to Mr. Peel.

Rye. See Baillie, p. 134.

.....

Borradaile, R. (14, *Duke Street, Westminster). This gentleman is in the East India interest, being the owner of some of the company's shipping, and is a great hatter in the borough for which he sits. He is good for nothing in the house. His votes, which have been few, and bad.*

Newcastle-under-Line. This is a borough and market town, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, and has sent two members to parliament since 27, Edward III. The corruption and debauchery which characterise the elections here, are of the most flagrant description. Colonel Jones gives, from a

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He is an ignorant man. personal knowledge of them the following details.*

Newcastle may have a population of eight or nine thousand souls; the electors may be about eight hundred. The town has a mayor and twenty-four aldermen, and the franchise is vested in freemen, obtained as the sons of freemen, or by servitude, or by presentation by the corporation—a right questioned, but exercised, until the abuse of it corrected itself. No voter can be absent a whole year without losing his freedom; so it is the custom for most of them to repair once in the year to pay a visit to their native town, to secure their right, but particularly so on the eve of an approaching election. Formerly my lord Stafford was the principal proprietor of the town, and as he let his houses very much below their value, he commanded the votes of the occupiers; but a rebellion arose at the instigation of a Mr. Fletcher, a quandum bean-dresser, who had succeeded to a considerable property. Lord Stafford overcame this rebellion, and to gain the principal agitator, got him made a baronet. At the next election he was passive, but at the succeeding one he brought forward his son in opposition, who was successful, and who afterwards triumphed for the county over the heir apparent, the present earl Gower. The defeat my lord Stafford sustained, enraged and chagrined the noble peer so much, that he at once determined to abandon his borough, and attend to his pecuniary interests. He at once raised the rents of his houses; so those which only paid fifty shillings were advanced to ten or twelve pounds, and soon afterwards he disposed of the property for upwards of 100,000*l*. The independents, called blues, had previously obtained a small plot of ground, on which they had built houses for their friends; but the sale of lord Stafford's property being in lots, to produce the greatest amount, he subdivided the houses, that there then only remained the power of the cor-

* Spectator.

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poration against the independents; but the corporation was backed by a powerful banker, who in his turn supported the corporation, and became the member, at a considerable sacrifice of his purse; for if he did not give money, he had, whenever there was an opposition, or menace of one, to *discount* bills, and to make advances in the shape of *loans*. His party was designated the reds; neither party was directed by any political principle, but only by the principle of domination. By degrees the corporation was weakened, the rich banker, their member, died; the corporation was attacked by *quo warrantos;* there was no purse to uphold them; they gave way, and compromised with the blues, and allowed them to return one member. The blues select a miserable tory and bigot; the reds take a glowing liberal, a Canningite; but, his purse being pretty well drained at the last election, he retires; the old blue member, an enemy to all improvement, is brought forward again, in conjunction with another tory (or nearly so), upon the recommendation of a great borough hatter (the trade of Newcastle being principally in hats); a party, chiefly reds, invite a brother of sir Robert Peel; some reds and some blues, the most respectable and best principled in the town, invite Mr, Dennison, (the late member for Liverpool), as the best qualified to be their representative. The old blues adhere to their candidates without any regard to their qualifications; Mr. Christie is determined to carry his nephew, Mr. Miller, and does carry him, at an expense, it is said, of eleven thousand pounds; Mr. Borrodaile is said to have expended above four thousand; Mr. Peel some seven thousand; and Mr. Dennison, who only offered himself on independent grounds, somewhat about fifteen hundred pounds, but then he was defeated. Thus, nearly twenty-five thousand pounds were thrown away in riot, drunkenness, and bribery, in a few days—the election only lasted two. I am assured that twenty-five and thirty pounds were given for a vote. Having been actively engaged in two elections at Newcastle, I am fully apprised of

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the scenes exhibited at such periods—the profligacy exceeds belief. Ballot is as much required in such places, to prevent abuses and protect the voters, as in a close borough.

.....

Bourne, right honourable W. Sturgess. (15, South Audley Street.) A barrister, and an ex-commissioner of the woods and forests. He is a disciple of the Pitt school, and when "the heaven-born minister" came into power the second time, this member was made one of the joint secretaries of the treasury, worth about 3500*l. a-year; and has been subsequently a commissioner for the affairs of India. On the second reading of the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, in* 1800, *he delivered a long speech in favour of the question before the house, and dwelt with much effect on the dangers arising to this country from the French revolution. In the same year he supported the New Forest bill, against Mr. Hobhouse. In the year* 1818, *Mr. Bourne carried through the house of commons two bills whose operations have been most injurious to the scenes exhibited at such periods—the profligacy exceeds belief. Ballot is as much required in such places, to prevent abuses and protect the voters, as in a close borough.*

Milborne Port, *Somerset.* The right of election in this insignificant borough, existing, with some interruption, since 26, Edward I., presents a curious specimen of the anomalies in our representative system. Nine pieces of borough land, the property of the marquis of Anglesea, give a right of voting for members of parliament, to any nine persons to whom he may choose to convey them for that purpose. Two of these nine burgage or feudal tenures preside yearly, by rotation, as returning officers; the persons to whom they are conveyed are called the nine bailiffs, as constituted by the conveyance of the tenures. The two bailiffs, whose turn it appears to be to preside, may, if they please, appoint two substitutes, at the court leet, held annually, in the month of October, who are called sub-bailiffs, and who are generally two of the servants of the proprietor.

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rious and oppressive, in relation to the poor: the one is what is now well enough known as "the select vestry bill;" the other deprived magistrates of the power which they previously possessed, of compelling relief to paupers, and made the select vestries alone, the judges in all applications for relief.

In addition to these nine feudal or parchment voters, are all the householders paying scot and lot, amounting to eighty or ninety more; but as these houses belong to the proprietor of the burgage tenure land, he has, and exercises, the power of nominating both the members.

.....

Bouverie, hon. D. P. Brother to the earl of Radnor; cousin to H. I. Bouverie, a commissioner of customs, at 1,400*l. a-year; and also to the honourable Arabella Bouverie, who has a pension on the civil list of* 300*l. a-year. There is a major general sir H. F. Bouverie, who receives military pay to the amount of* 1,574*l.* 13*s.* 7*d. a-year, but we do not know his degree of consanguinity with this member, who is a captain in the navy. He is worth less than nothing in the house.*

Salisbury, *Wilts.* This borough has sent members to parliament since 26, Edward I.; but by a decision of the house of commons, on a petition, April 3, 1689, the elective franchise is restricted to the mayor, and a *select* number of the corporation, who manage the thing very snugly, as appears from a petition presented to parliament, signed by several magistrates, aldermen, and assistants of the city, in which it is alleged that "the select" anticipate and determine at their previous meetings, all acts and things determinable by the whole corporation in the council house—that they agree, by vote or ballot, on the choice of members for the said city—and admit such persons only, upon vacancies, into the corporation, as will

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engage themselves to act in the measures of the combination. The earl of Radnor is recorder of the city, and obtains the return of one member; the patronage of the other seat is possessed by Mr. Wyndham, who returns himself! The number of nominal voters is about fifty-four.

.....

Bouverie, hon. P. (36, Curzon Street). A banker; brother to the preceding member, and to lord Radnor. He married a daughter of the late sir W. P. A. A'Court. Of his parliamentary conduct nothing is known.

Cockermouth, *Cumberland*. The elective franchise in this borough, acquired 23, Edward I., is vested in the burgage holders, varying in numbers from one hundred and fifty to two hundred. The returning officer is the bailiff, nominated at the court leet of lord Lowther. On the fifteenth of November last, a petition was presented to the house of commons from the inhabitants of Cockermouth and its vicinity, setting forth that the borough, though it has the reputed privilege of returning two members to parliament, and has a population of near five thousand inhabitants, has so far as regards the elective franchise, entirely fallen to the disposal of the earl of Lonsdale, who possesses little property in the place—that the inhabitants having no voice in the election, are, in consequence, totally unrepresented; and though at the beginning of each session it is declared to be illegal for a peer to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the election of members, it is notorious that the earl of Lonsdale appoints the members for Cockermouth. The petition therefore prays an alteration in the mode of choosing the representatives—and closes by setting forth that, if in the wisdom of the house, the present system is to be continued, then, that in that place, the petitioners may no longer be insulted with the farce of an election, but that the scene thereof may be removed to the festive board of the noble earl, or to such other place as he may think best calculated for his purpose.

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Boyle, hon. J. (3, Hamilton Place, Hyde Park). Son of the earl of Cork, (see Peep,) *and a strenuous supporter of things as they are.*

Cork, *city, Ireland.* The freemen in the corporation of the city of Cork, so far exceed the freeholders, particularly since the disfranchising of the forty-shilling freeholders, that the right of representation is entirely in the hands of the corporation, which is principally under the influence of the earl of Cork.

.....

Boyle, viscount. Son of the earl of Shannon. Not to be found in the house! He commands about seven corps of yeomanry in Ireland.

Cork, *county, Ireland.* Although this is decidedly the largest county in Ireland, yet it is no more than a close borough, in the hands of lords Shannon and Cork, and a few other aristocrats.

.....

Brabazon, lord. Son of the earl of Meath. A new member, and we believe disposed to be liberal; but he has not yet said or done any thing that we know of.

Dublin, *county.* This county is tolerably fairly divided between the families of Meath (Brabazon,) White, Hamilton, Domville, and Talbot, Before the disfranchising of the forty-shilling freeholders, the family of the Hamiltons had the prevailing influence, in consequence of their being possessed of the Skerries coast, and as they leased off houses and gardens to the fishermen, they also held them as tenants at will for the quantity of ground they occupied—so that the house and garden became of no value whatever, when deprived of the land; by which means Mr. Hamilton secured their votes, and the family, for upwards of thirty years, represented the county.

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Bradshaw, R. H.
Bradshaw, J.

R. H. is a lawyer, and manager of the marquis of Stafford's estates. His attendance in parliament is very, very bad. There are three or four relations, we believe, in government offices, and on the pension list.

J. Bradshaw is a captain in the navy, and an anti-reformer.

Brackley, *Northampton.* The elective franchise is, in this small borough, confined to the corporation, consisting of thirty-three persons; and has been, for upwards of a century, under the entire control of the Bridgewater family, who return both members. It has sent members since 1, Edward VI.

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Briscoe, J. J. (19, Edward Street, Portman Square). This gentleman, who now sits in parliament for the first time, having been returned by the independent electors of Surrey, in opposition to the borough-monger colonel Jolliffe, is an active, liberal, and reforming magistrate of the county. He is pledged, without qualification, to retrenchment and reform.

Surrey, *county.* The freeholders of this county nobly asserted their independence in the return of Mr. Briscoe, free of expense, we believe, to that gentleman, and by a large majority. It has sent members since 22, Edward I.

.....

Brogden, J. This member is an East India proprietor, and was formerly chairman of ways and means in the house of commons, but was ejected from that office in consequence of his extensive connection with certain bubble companies, by which one

Launceston, *Cornwall.* This close borough has sent two members to parliament since 23, Edward I. The right of voting is restricted to the corporation and freemen, about fifteen in number, who are, and have long been, entirely dependent on the duke

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part of the public was amused, and another part robbed, in the year 1825. *The following are some of the offices which he at that time filled:—Director of the Arigna iron and coal company, director of the equitable loan bank, director of the Australian agricultural association, director of the provincial bank, director of the London and Birmingham railway, director of the Waterloo bridge company, chairman of the united gas company, chairman of the protector fire office; also director or trustee of the Eastland company, Rock insurance company, and the Russia company.*

of Northumberland, and who, therefore, secures the return of his own nominees.

James is evidently a monopolist in grain, *whose all-devouring rapacity for directorships, chairmanships, trusteeships, and other official emolumentships, would not, if he could avert it, admit the least participation from any fellow-creature breathing. It will be remembered that this M. P. with as long an appendage as the grand Turk, is the same immaculate personage, who, in concert with some contracting dustmen and scavengers, got up the Arigna iron and coal company, by which James, one morning, found in his pocket* £1047, *in a way not less miraculous and unaccountable than that in which William Huntingdon used to receive his leather breeches. The fact is, Mr. Brogden was one of the most active of the many "Guardians of the public purse," who, in concert with stock-jobbers, newspaper editors, newspaper proprietors, directors of insurance offices, trustees of charitable associations, and other cunning rogues, lent their august names, during Mr. Robinson's prosperity mania, in* 1824-5, *to cover, hatch, bring forth, and nurture into wing, the numerous brood of speculating bubbles, by which so many silly and greedy dupes were beggared. The honourable member was often called on for an account; but though an excellent man of business, he always refused, and never would refund a farthing of the*

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" God send," of £1047, nor would he condescend to explain by what " ways and means" he conceived the miracle was wrought. Like all high and efficient public delinquents, James assumed lofty airs, despised the low radical suspicion of " pecuniary taint," and boldly challenged inquiry into his conduct!

.....

Brougham, James. Brother to the lord chancellor, and a barrister in his court. He is a reformer of the " moderate" school, but voted against the emancipation of the Jews.

Downton, *Wilts.* This borough, which contains about five hundred houses, has sent two members to parliament since 26, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of voting is in some few burgage tenures, which belong to the earl of Radnor; and who, therefore, creates the voters at the time of an election.

.....

Brown, James.
Brown, Dominick.
The former member is cousin to the marquis of Sligo (see Peep); *the latter is brother-in-law to viscount Dillon.*

Mayo, *county, Ireland.* The leading interest in this county is in the family of the marquis of Sligo, whose relatives are the two representatives.

.....

Browne, hon. W. This member is a Roman catholic, and brother to the earl of Kenmore. He voted for sir H. Parnell's motion.

Kerry, *county, Ireland.* The families of the marquis of Lansdown, lords Kenmare, Glandore, and Ventry, Denny, Crosbie, Fitzgerald, Day, and O'Connell are the prevailing interests.

.....

Brownlow, Charles (17, Eaton Place, Belgrave Square). Son-in-law to

Armagh, *county, Ireland.* The preponderating influence in this county is divided be-

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earl Darnley, and a liberal man, both as a landlord, and a member of parliament. He was originally a violent orangeman, and not only aided ministers in their measures for abridging the liberties of Ireland, but also in those for curtailing the liberties of Englishmen. He supported lord Castlereagh's infamous six acts. New light broke into his mind, however, in the year 1826, *or* 1827, *when he became a warm and able advocate for the repeal of catholic disabilities; and has since spoken and voted in favour of reform. He says his mind is made up in favour of the ballot!*

tween lords Gosford, Darnley, and Charlemont.

.....

Bruce, M. A new member. He is a barrister, and voted against inquiry into the civil list. His father made a large fortune in India, and after his return formed a large mercantile establishment, which was broken up from great losses. This gentleman assisted in the escape of Lavalette, and once promised to be a distinguished patriot, but latterly has attached himself to the aristocracy, and has become a mere dependent.

Ilchester, *Somersetshire.* This borough has sent two members to parliament since 23, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of election is in the bailiff, who is the returning officer, the capital burgesses, and inhabitants not receiving alms, amounting to about seventy. Lords Cleveland and Huntingtower contest the return of the members; the present ones, however, may be considered as the representatives of the former. Oldfield says, Ilchester, like Cricklade, Stoneham, and Aylesbury, has been so very improvident in the exercise of its corruption, as to have the whole system several times exposed before committees of the house of commons; but like Shaftesbury, Hindon, Stockbridge, Helston, and many

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others, where the bribery has been specially reported to the house, as in the four former, it has escaped disfranchisement, while Cricklade, Shoreham, and Aylesbury, have had the right of voting extended to the neighbouring hundreds. Why this distinction has been made between boroughs proved to be equally guilty of corruption, we do not presume to determine. It is, however, remarkable, that those which have the right of election extended, were open boroughs, which sold the representation to the highest bidder, without regard to party; while Shaftesbury, Hindon, Stockbridge, Helston, and Ilchester, were all the private property, or subject to the influence of some nobleman, or member of the house of commons. The corrupt state of this borough has been reported to the house by their committees. The increase in the price of votes appears to have exceeded that of land and manufactures for the last century, by which it is proved that borough corruption has been the most flourishing trade during that period. In the year 1702, the price of votes was only two guineas; in 1768 it had risen to thirty.

.....

Brudenell, lord, (12, Hereford Street). Son of the earl of Cardigan, (see Peep). *He has voted against all motions for retrenchment and reform.*

Fowey, *Cornwall.* This borough has sent one member to parliament since the 14, Edward III, and two since the 13, Elizabeth. The right of election is vested in such tenants of the duke of Cornwall, as are capable of holding the office of portreeve, in number about seventy-five, but they are all under the influence of two worthy gentlemen, of the names of Lucy and Austen, whose mutual contests for the entire patronage of the borough, have cost them upwards of A HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS! Surely, something substantial is attainable by borough patronage!

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Bruen, H. We cannot trace his attendance in parliament, except in voting for the catholic relief bill.

Carlow, *county, Ireland.* The marquis of Sligo and the marquis of Ormond have great influence in this county.

.....

Brydges, sir J. W. H. A major in the army, captain of Sandgate castle, and a colonel in the Portuguese service. He married one of the Beresford family, a sister, we believe, of the late marquis of Waterford. He is an incarnation of intolerance, and a thick and thin supporter of abuses and corruption.

Colerain, *Ireland.* This is a borough, noted for its manufacture of linen, in the county of Londonderry. It is indebted for its charter to the corporation of London, who are the proprietors of the soil, and who endowed it with upwards of 400 acres of land. For many years past, the representation of the borough has been totally in the nomination of the marquis of Waterford, and the Beresford family. The customary farce of electing a member has been duly performed there, on all proper and necessary occasions, and often without the usual complement of the "dramatis personæ;" a proposer and a seconder, with a recorder, being the trio who were thought sufficient to return a member to the collective wisdom. For the last fifteen years, sir John Brydges has been the person selected by the venal corporation, to fill the principal part in this honourable performance; and strange to say, no attempt was made during that time, on the part of the inhabitants to put an end to the evil. Never did people submit more tamely: they not only surrendered their rights, but, on some occasions, took a part in their own degradation; and of rotten boroughs, Colerain was amongst the most rotten. It is, however, some proof of the universal change which has been working in public opinion, that when an attempt was made, at the last election, to re-act this accustomed farce, a spirit was universally manifested amongst

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the respectable inhabitants, which strikes deep at the root of a monopoly, alike disgraceful to all parties The corporation, of course, returned sir John Brydges, their member, as heretofore—but not in that regular routine which had characterized their former proceedings. The persons who actually should, as freemen of the city and liberties, return the member, attended in the town hall; and, on the ground, that several of the corporation were not, as non-residents, entitled to a vote, and that consequently the return of sir John Brydges, their nominee, must be incorrect, alderman Thorpe, governor of the Irish society, and lord of the soil, was proposed as a more fitting person to represent the electors. The nomination was seconded, and received with evident satisfaction by the freemen present; who insisted that their votes should be received. The mayor and corporation, of course, refused to receive them, and the latter returned their member, as duly and properly elected. The freemen entered their protest; and the corporation of London have subsequently expressed their determination to establish in a court of law, the general rights of the burgesses, against the thirty-six "select." Whether this will be rendered unnecessary, by a general reform, remains to be seen.

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Buck, L. W. (63, *St. James' Street*). *This member votes for retrenchment, but against reform!* Exeter, *Devon.* This borough, which is called an open one—that is, one in which the length of a candidate's purse determines the issue of an election—has sent two members to parliament since Edward VI. The elective franchise resides in the corporation and freemen at large, whether resident or not, amounting in number to about one thousand five hundred.

.....

Buller, J. W. A relation to the proprieter of West Looe. In consequence of the reporters confounding Exeter. See above.

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this, and the member for West Looe, we hardly know what to say of him. We believe, however, that he is an anti-reformer.

.....

Buller, C. junior. (8, Manchester Buildings). One of the family who have the property of West Looe. He is a liberal member, and has given notice of his intention to move for a large reduction in the duty on newspapers.

West Looe, *Cornwall.* This is one of the Cornish hamlets, by the representation of which so much and serious mischief is created in the country. The right of election for two members, conferred by 6, Edward VI. is in the mayor, burgesses, and freemen, in all, about fifty persons. It is a contemptible hamlet, in the parish of Talland, and contains between seventy and eighty cottages or huts, mostly inhabited by fishermen. It belongs, as well as Saltash, in the same county, to Mr. Buller, who has a retiring pension of 1,100*l.* a year, as well as the absolute nomination of *four* members of parliament!

.....

Bulkeley, sir R. A new member.

Beaumaris, *Wales.* This is a market town in Anglesea, and has sent a member to parliament since 27, Henry VIII. A charter, obtained in 4, Elizabeth, has given to the corporation, consisting of twenty-four members, the exclusive right to vote for the borough in parliament. It has been for many years under the influence of the Bulkeley family.

.....

Bulwer, H. Lytton, (18, Manchester Buildings). A new member, and a man of an enlarged and liberal mind.

Wilton. *Wiltshire.* The right of election in this borough, which has sent two members to parliament since the 23, of Edw. I., is restricted to the corporation,

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consisting of twenty persons, under the complete control of the earl of Pembroke.

.....

Bunbury, sir H. A liberal member, who was brought in on independent principles, against the old tory member, sir T. S, Gooch.

Suffolk, *county.* The representation of this county has generally been compromised between the whigs and the tories, each party returning a member. The first contest for a period of forty years, occurred at the last election, and was carried on with a degree of spirit on the part of the electors almost unequalled by any contest in the kingdom. For twenty-five years, sir T. S. Gooch represented the county, without a contest, having been always returned by the high church and king party. The continuance of this sway, however, was broken by the return of the present member.

.....

Burdett, sir F. (25, St. James' Place). It is somewhat difficult to speak of this member; and impossible to speak of him, as truth and justice demand, without giving offence to some. The fact seems to be, that on the great question of reform, the progress of the public mind has left him far behind; he is not the man for the year 1831, *whatever he may have been for the year* 1815.* *We cannot, upon any other*

Westminster, *city.* This metropolitan city, though containing a population of about 200,000 souls, sends but two members to parliament, while twenty-four boroughs, composing fewer than *seven thousand* inhabitants, are represented by FIFTY members in the collective wisdom! Well might Mr. W. W. Wynne declare, that the whole of our system of representation was a collection of anomalies and absurdities! The city of West-

* The flaming patriot who so lately scorched us in the meridian, sinks temperately in the west, and is hardly felt as he descends.—Junius.

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principle, so favourable to himself, account for the laches *in his parliamentary conduct. If the baronet be sick of public life, he had better retire from the stage at once, and not fill one of the highest posts the people can bestow, by the mere fragrance of his name. Of late years, Westminster has not been represented at all; her principles have not been expounded, nor has she exerted the influence in the legislature she ought, from the number, intelligence, and public spirit of the electors. By what hocus-pocus management, then, is sir Francis continued in the representation, and this, too, after he has felt, or affected to feel, indifferent to a seat in parliament? Among the numerous farces enacted during the last general election, none was more disgusting than the way in which the "baronet and his man" were shoved into parliament, without any questions being asked, any pledge received, and scarcely with a return of thanks*

minster, which has sent two members to parliament since the 1, Edward VI., is governed by a dean and chapter, in both ecclesiastical and civil affairs; but the civil administration is in the hands of laymen elected by them. The principal magistrate is the high steward, who is commonly one of the greatest peers in the kingdom, (at present viscount Sidmouth); a deputy steward nominated by him, and a high bailiff nominated by the dean and chapter. In addition to these officers, who enjoy their places for life, there are sixteen burgesses, as many assistants, and a high constable, chosen by the burgesses at a court-leet, held by the deputy of the high steward. The high bailiff superintends the elections for members of parliament, and is the returning officer. The right of election for the city and liberty is in the inhabitant householders, paying scot and lot, within the united parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, and the several parishes of St. Paul, Covent Garden, St. Anne's, St. James's, St.

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for the honour conferred. Such a juggling ceremony will not be easily repeated. The electors begin to perceive they may be disseized of their franchises, as well by the intrigues of a little knot of under-ground politicians as by a peer of the realm. It behoves them to be on the alert in future: usage soon grows into prescription; and the baronet, in process of time, by their tame acquiescence, may claim the representation of Westminster, as a patrimonial adjunct, instead of a trust for the benefit of his constituents.

Another indication in sir Francis, seems to disqualify him for a popular leader and representative; as he grows older, he appears to grow more aristocratic in his views of society. The baronet was never suspected of republicanism, his prepossessions were always in favour of birth and Norman descent, and he certainly never indulged the idea, that mankind should be all placed on the pavé, *and left to start fair for*

George's, Hanover Square, in the liberty of St. Martin-le-grand, in the county of Middlesex; and in so much of the parishes of St. Martin-in-the-fields, St. Clement-danes, and St. Mary-le-Strand, as are not within any of the four wards of the liberty of the duchy of Lancaster.

Westminster was once considered a close borough, and its representatives were selected from the sons of the aristocracy. In 1769, however, the electors felt indignant at the corruption which had been exhibited at the Middlesex election, and returned the late sir Robert Bernard, against the united influence of the administration and the aristocracy. At the following election, in 1774, lord Mahon, afterwards earl Stanhope, and lord Mountmorres, became the independent candidates, against earl Percy and the earl of Lincoln, son of the duke of Newcastle; but the latter candidates were returned by a majority of nearly two to one. From this period to the general election in 1780,

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the honours and advantages of society, the prizes being the reward of the best and the wisest. His political views were limited to the renovation of some Saxon scheme of liberty, in which there were lords without control, and a peasantry without rights; in short, his object was to pull down those above him, rather than raise up and assimilate to his own grade those beneath him.

It is, doubtless, from these early impressions, that the baronet conceived the aversion he expressed in a former session of parliament, to the French law of succession, and a minute sub-division of landed property. Sir Francis has no idea of abridging the domain of the "lords of the soil," though it might create food for the famishing, or freeholds for the disfranchised.

In conclusion, one may hope that, on a future occasion, Westminster will be more adequately represented: the present members are men of little mark, and

Westminster was considered an inveterate close borough, under the direction of the dukes of Northumberland and Newcastle—father to the present illustrious borough merchant. But at this election, the inhabitants, who had formed themselves into an association for the purpose, broke the bonds in which they had been held, and returned Charles James Fox, and sir George Rodney against lord Lincoln, the aristocracy's nominee. In 1782, sir George Rodney vacated his seat, and sir Cecil Wray was returned by the independent electors to serve in his place. In 1784, in consequence of a difference between sir C. Wray and Mr. Fox, the aristocratical influence managed to return lord Hood as the representative for Westminster. In 1788, he, vacating his seat, was succeeded by an independent member, in the person of lord John Townsend, whose victory, however, over the aristocratic interest, was purchased at the expense of fifty thousand pounds. From this period to

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no efficiency whatever, and though they might pass for another place, they will not, for a city which has been long held up as an example to others, and a sort of conservatory of popular principles and public spirit. It is almost the only patch of territory the reformers have been able to reclaim from the waste of corruption, and it is a pity it should be overshadowed by two mere sun-flowers, like sir Francis and Mr. Hobhouse.

1796, a coalition was formed between the independent and corrupt interests, and each returned its member to parliament. Against this "foul and unnatural union," Horne Tooke protested. But at the general election in this year, Mr. Graham, an auctioneer, became a candidate against the coalition interests, and polled such a considerable number, that it was evident the city would no longer be subject to the dictates of two factions. On the death of Mr. Fox, in 1806, earl Percy was elected for the remainder of that parliament; but at the dissolution which ensued in the same year, sir Sam. Hood, the hon. Richard B. Sheridan, and James Paul, became the candidates. The two former were successful. On the dissolution of the short parliament in 1807, lord Cochrane, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Elliot, and Mr Paul were candidates, but after the poll had commenced, sir Francis Burdett, without his own knowledge, and while he was confined to his bed by a wound he had previously received in a duel with the latter gentleman, was put in nomination, and he and lord Cochrane proved the successful candidates. In 1812, these gentlemen were again returned without solicitation or expense. In 1814 lord Cochrane was expelled the house, from a suspicion that he was connected with some unfair transactions at the Stock Exchange, but his constituents re-elected him, and he resumed his seat on the 4th May, 1815, on which day the measure for increasing the income of the duke of Cumberland was negatived by *one* vote, on a division of the house! In 1818, the government

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made an effort to introduce sir Murray Maxwell, and the opposition nominated sir S. Romilly, sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Hunt. Sir Samuel and sir Francis were returned by considerable majorities. In 1819, the untimely end of sir Samuel Romilly caused a vacancy, which brought forward three candidates, J. C. Hobhouse, the hon. George Lamb, and major Cartwright. The former gentleman was successful. Since that period, sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse have been chosen without opposition, and the election is as much of a farce as in any rotten borough in the kingdom.

.....

Burke, sir J. Uncle to the marquis of Clanricarde, and a colonel in the army. He is one of the new Roman Catholic members. He voted for sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list.

Galway, *county*. The marquis of Clanricarde possesses considerable influence in this county. A petition against the present return has been presented to the house, alleging the undue and unconstitutional interference of the sheriff at the election. The petitioners set forth, that the sheriff, during the election, headed, and led on a large party of freeholders over whom he had influence, shouting out to them, waiving his hat, to come forward and vote for the present members as he would, if he had the power. He also procured fourteen partizans as assessors at the poll, who had previously voted for Lambert and Burke, and had been dismissed on that occasion for misconduct. They further state, that in the town of Galway, during the time of the election, a mob, headed by the partizans of the said Lambert and Burke, seized upon one hundred freeholders entitled to vote for James Daly, and by threats, force, and intimidation, prevented the same freeholders from voting according to their original intention. A house, it seems, was provided in Galway for the reception of the freeholders, who designed to vote for

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James Daly, and a number accordingly assembled there; but one William M' Dermott, aided and abetted by the rev. Mr. Fahey and the rev. Mr. Hughes, with a numerous mob, assailed the said house, and being unable to force the door, one of the said parsons was injected through the window! Ultimately the voters were violently seized, carried to the harbour of Galway, forced into boats which had been provided for the purpose, carried out to sea, and landed on different parts of the coast, to prevent their being present to vote for the said James Daly. The petition details other acts of violence and corruption, which it is unnecessary to adduce after the specimen above given. The committee, however, decided in favour of the sitting members.

.....

Burrard, G. (19 *Charles Street, St. James'*). *A lieutenant in the army, and son of the rev. W. Burrard, who is receiver of duties and customs (!) and also of a salary of* 1160*l. a-year. He voted against inquiry into the civil list.*

Lymington, *Hampshire.*—This is one of that honourable class of boroughs commonly called "rotten," the right of representation being sold to the two highest bidders. It has been the property of sir H. B. Neale and his family for upwards of a century, and has been made to them a corrupt source of considerable wealth. The elective franchise, conferred by 27, Eliz., has been determined to be in the corporation only, amounting to rather more than sixty persons. At the last election, the mayor and corporation met in the town-hall at eleven o'clock, for that purpose, and the usual forms having been duly observed, not even omitting the reading of the act against bribery and corruption, two burgesses were proposed, and elected *nem. con.* One of the hon. members being present, he returned thanks in a speech of unrivalled eloquence, but unfortunately it is lost to the world, on account of its having been inaudible. The said speech occupied at least half a minute in its delivery.

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Burrell, sir C. M. (5 Richmond Terrace, Whitehall). Son-in-law to earl of Egremont, and a proprietor of East India stock. He has formerly moved for disfranchising Penryn, East Retford, and other boroughs convicted, *(i. e. technically), of corruption, but votes against general measures of reform.*

Shoreham, *Sussex.* This borough is governed by two constables, who are the returning officers. The right of election, conferred by 23, Edw. I. was formerly in the inhabitants, paying scot and lot, but in consequence of the gross bribery practised by the christian club, in 1771, 81 freemen were disfranchised, and the elective franchise extended to all the freemen of the Rape of Bramber, one of the six divisions of Sussex, The number of voters is estimated at 1,200, and the influence is divided between the duke of Norfolk and lord Egremont, father of this member.

.....

Burrell, W. (37, Conduit Street). Brother to the member for Shoreham, and his votes, like his, appear to be singularly inconsistent : — self-interest, however, will furnish the solution. He has voted against all motions for reform.

Sussex, *county.* This county has sent members since the 23, Edward I. The earl of Egremont influences the return of one member.

.....

Burton, H. (1, Upper Brook St.). A new member.

Beverley, *Yorkshire.* This borough has returned two members, with some intermissions, since 23, Edward III. It is governed by a corporation, consisting of a mayor, recorder, twelve governors, and twelve inferior burgesses. The right of election is in the freemen, who acquire their franchise by birth, servitude, or purchase. Money procures here, as in most of the other

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open boroughs, the return of the member, and hence the freedom is valued at a high price. The number of voters is about twelve hundred.

.....

Buxton, J. J. A son of sir J. R. Buxton, and nephew to sir T. Beevor. He votes against reform.

Bedwin, *Wilts.* This is a small village, in which the right of voting vests in a few burgage tenures, belonging to the marquis of Aylesbury, who nominates both the members.

.....

Buxton, T. F. (54, Devonshire Street), Son-in-law to Mr. Wilberforce, whose successor he has become, in advocating the great and important measure of negro emancipation. He voted against the marquis of Blandford's motion for reform, however, and we cannot find him voting in favour of retrenchment.

Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. These were originally two boroughs, each returning two members to parliament, but were united by act of parliament, in queen Elizabeth's time, which act was confirmed by 15, James I., and they have ever since returned the four members by one indenture. The right of election here has been frequently contested, but was, in 1804, determined by a committee of the house of commons to be in the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burgesses inhabiting the said borough; and in persons seized of entire freeholds within the said borough, whether by descent, devise, or purchase, and not split or divided, unless split by descent or devise; and not receiving alms. In consequence of this determination, two hundred freeholds were immediately split into two thousand: freeholders of Weymouth were to be found in London, and in almost all the towns and villages to the Land's End in Cornwall, and in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, whence many hundreds were afterwards brought, at an enormous expense, to

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vote at every election for the borough. Some even voted for the thirteen-hundred-and-sixtieth part of a sixpenny freehold! Upon the death of sir John Johnstone, father of the present proprietor, a great number of the freeholds became extinct, and an enormous sum was expended to renew the parchments, for creating a new set of surreptitious voters. Sir E. Johnstone, the present proprietor, is a minor; and it is said that upwards of 130,000*l.* have been expended to perpetuate the family interest! The corruption in the borough is of the most flagrant description.

.....

Byng, G. (5, St. James' Square). Cousin to lord Torrington, and brother to sir J. Byng, a lieutenant general in the army, whose pay and emoluments, as commanding the forces in Ireland, amount to 4,400*l.* 3*s.* 10*d. a-year. He was returned for this county on the death of his father in* 1790, *and has retained his seat ever since. He has voted for retrenchment, and "moderate reform;" but is averse from the adoption of the ballot.*

Middlesex, *county.* This county has sent two members since 18, Edward I.; and is remarkable for the independence displayed by the freeholders, in their contest with the house of commons, from 1668 to 1782. At the last general election, Mr. Hume was invited to represent the county, and was returned with Mr. Byng without opposition.

....

Calcraft, right hon. J. Late paymaster of the forces. It will be enough to say, that he is one of the strenuous opponents of the ministerial measure of reform, which he maintains will soon sweep away the

Wareham, *Dorset.* This is a borough and market town, and has sent two members to parliament since 30, Edward I. The patronage of the borough having been for many years contested by the Pitt family—the patrons of the li-

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house of lords and the throne.

ving—and Mr. Drax, of Charborough, lord of the manor, gave rise to the multiplication of voters, almost without number. Oldfield states, that on one occasion the contest was so very violent, that all the stamps in the county were consumed in the mock transfer of property, of which a space of ground, scarcely affording room for a grave, was frequently the subject, and a farther supply was necessary to be sent for from the metropolis. The expense of contention increased with the votes, so that the fortunes of both parties appeared in danger. At length, for the putting an end to such ruinous litigation, the contending parties, either by an express agreement, or from an accidental concurrence of circumstances, parted with the whole of their voting property to one person, Mr. Calcraft, the late army agent, who has transmitted his interest to his son. The inhabitants, like so many Russian peasants, quietly submitted to the transfer. Wareham is a corporate borough, governed by a mayor, a recorder, six capital burgesses, twelve common councilmen, and other officers, and by the last decision of a committee, the right of election is in the mayor and magistrates of the borough, who pay scot and lot, and in the freeholders of lands and tenements, who have been *bona fide*, to their own use, in the actual occupation, or in the receipts of the *rents* and profits of such lands or tenements, for the space of one whole year, next before the election, except the same came to such freeholders by descent, devise, marriage, marriage settlement, or promotion to some benefice in the church. The number of voters is about one hundred and twenty, but they are under the dictation of Mr. Calcraft, who nominates himself and the other member.

.....

Callaghan, D. A merchant in Cork. He voted against marquis of Bland-

Cork, *city, Ireland.* The right of election in this city, is in the corporation and

ford's motion for reform, and against sir H. Parnell, on the civil list.

freeholders, in number about two thousand eight hundred. The influence of the earl of Shannon is very great.

.....

Calthorpe, hon F. G. (29, Upper Grosvenor Street). Brother to lord Calthorpe. His parliamentary attendance is bad. He voted, however, for the civil list inquiry.

Bramber, *Sussex.* The elective franchise in this borough, conferred 23, Edward I. is vested in persons paying scot and lot, and inhabiting houses built on ancient foundations. The number of voters varies from fourteen to thirty-six. The returning officer is a constable appointed at the duke of Norfolk's court leet, but his grace possesses no influence. Bramber is properly a burgage tenure borough; the number of burgage holds are thirty-six, and belong to the duke of Rutland and lord Calthorpe, each of whom returns a member. The tenements consist of about a score of cottages, the upper part of which constitutes the borough of Steyning.

.....

Calvert, C. (29, Cleveland Square). This gentleman is a brewer, and is exemplary in the discharge of his parliamentary duties. He seldom speaks, but votes well, always on the right side. At the last general election, Mr Calvert was unseated by Mr. Harris, a new candidate, and feeling that he had not been treated as his conduct to his constituents entitled him to ex-

Southwark, *borough.* By the grant of Edward IV. this borough is under the government of the lord mayor of London, and constitutes one of the twenty-six wards of that city, by the name of Bridge Ward without; and has an alderman that presides over it. It has sent two members to parliament since 23, Edward I. The right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, in num-

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pect, he declared that he would never again solicit their suffrages. Mr. Harris dying before he took his seat in the house, a large number of the electors of Southwark came forward, and invited Mr. Calvert again to offer himself, pledging themselves to return him free of expense. This, however, he declined, but at the same time expressed his willingness to represent the borough, if he were returned. The result was highly creditable to the electors, who brought him in by a large majority, but at the cost of £2,500 to the committee and Mr. Calvert's friends. His opponent, Mr. Farncombe, who was set up by some interested attornies, is said to have expended £3,000. Mr. Calvert has just declared himself decided in favour of the ballot.

ber about three thousand five hundred. The high bailiff, appointed by the lord mayor, is the returning officer.

.....

Calvert, Nicholas. (89, Jermyn Street). Brother-in-law to viscount Northland, and cousin to the member for Southwark. He voted against inquiry into the civil list.

Hertfordshire, *county.* This county has sent two members since 18, Edward I. and is free from any great aristocratic influence.

.....

Calvert, (2, Old Bond Street). Secretary to the lord chamberlain, at a salary of 176l.10s. 6d. He votes against all reform and retrenchment. He is the nominee of the Sandwich family.

Huntingdon, *Huntingdonshire.* This borough has returned two members since 26, Edward I. In the year 1701, a petition was presented to the house of commons against the return of a Mr. C. Boyle, in which it was alleged, that "at the election, a peer of the realm, with the assistance of others, with

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swords and clubs, did menace, assault, and strike the recorder, and the petitioner's voters; some being wounded, others durst not appear, some were carried under a strong guard to give their votes for Mr. Boyle, but were not permitted to give their second votes, which they would have done for the petitioner." In consequence of this petition, the house, on the 15th of February, resolved, *nem. con.* "that for any peer of this kingdom, or lord lieutenant of a county, to concern themselves in elections of members of parliament, is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the commons of England." The petitioner, supposing that the ends of justice had been attained, by the adoption of this resolution, withdrew his petition, and the matter proceeded no farther. How far the declaration of the house has operated to deter the unconstitutional interference which it was designed to deprecate, is manifest by the mode in which the members are returned in almost every borough in the kingdom; but it is somewhat curious, that in this very borough of Huntingdon, the same practice exists, though not so apparently offensive, as that alleged in the petition above noticed, and which called forth the resolution of the house which we have quoted. A petition has been presented against the return of the sitting members, in which Mr. Wells, the unsuccessful candidate and petitioner, states, that the earls of Sandwich have for many years exercised an unconstitutional influence over the corporation, who claim the exclusive right of nominating freemen. It avers that that body consists of persons holding office, by the interest of the earls of Sandwich, in the stamp office, and other public offices, of great emolument; and that by such influence, the earls of Sandwich have caused persons to be returned to parliament according to their nomination. The petitioner states, that, suspecting partiality on the part of HENRY STAFFORD, the mayor and returning officer, who acted under the advice of Mr. MAULE, an attorney, who is an agent to the earl of Sandwich, and town clerk of the borough, and the electioneering agent of the sitting members, gave notice

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that he was a candidate. On the morning of the election, before proceedings were commenced, the mayor, attended by the sitting members, Mr. MAULE and Mr. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE, the principal agent for the estates of the earl of Sandwich, also an alderman of the borough, a post captain in the royal navy, and one of the commissioners and deputy chairman of the board for the collection of STAMP DUTIES, with other aldermen and electors in the interests of the sitting members, went into a separate room of the common hall, from which they excluded the petitioner. The petition also alleges, that on taking the votes by a show of hands, the mayor declared the numbers who voted in favour of the sitting members; but, that after consulting Mr. MAULE, he did not state the number for the petitioner, but declared the sitting members to be duly elected, notwithstanding the numbers in favour of the petitioner greatly preponderated.

.....

CAMPBELL, hon. G. Brother to the earl of Cawdor, and a captain in the navy. He is an absentee member.

CROMARTY and NAIRNSHIRE, *Scotland.* These shires return a member to parliament alternately.

.....

CAMPBELL, W. F Nephew to the duke of Argyle. He seldom attends, but when he does it is to vote well.

ARGYLE, *county, Scotland.* This county returns one member, under the influence of the duke of Argyle, and his cousin Campbell.

.....

CAMPBELL, A. This man's vote is to be found against every motion for reform and retrenchment. He is a regular "out-and-out" supporter of corruption.

GLASGOW, *burgh, Scotland.* The united burghs of Dumbarton, Glasgow, Renfrew, and Ruthergten, send but one member to parliament, though Glasgow alone, contains a population exceeding 150,000 (For the

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mode of election in the Scotch burghs, see the Introduction).

.....

Campbell, J. (9, New Street, Spring Gardens). A barrister of very considerable practice. He has been in the house but a short time, but promises well. When he offered himself at Stafford, he said, should he be returned to parliament, he pledged himself to support every measure brought forward for the abolition of slavery. He would also vote on all occasions for free trade with India and China. He would be the strenuous advocate of retrenchment and economy in every department of the state, and on all subjects give a conscientous, honest, and upright vote.

Stafford, *town.* This is a corporate town, and the right of election (23, Edward I.) resides in the mayor, aldermen, and resident burgesses, in number about 630. Money carries the election. The price of each voter being settled by a committee, averages seven pounds a-head !

.....

Capel, J. (32, Russell Sq.) An East India proprietor, and a leading stock broker. He has voted against all motions for reform.

Queenborough, *Kent.* This is a borough in the Isle of Sheppy, and has sent two members since 12, Elizabeth. It is governed by a mayor, who is the returning officer, four jurats, a constable, and other officers. The right of election is in the mayor, jurats, bailiffs, and burgesses, in number about two hundred and seventy. Queenborough is one of the government boroughs, and from 1727, until the year 1802, we believe, there was no instance of a return in opposition to the existing administration, although several attempts had been made. The systematic application of the patronage of the board of ordnance, to the purposes of acquiring an influence in this borough, has been attended

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with a progressive increase of their establishment on the Thames and Medway, and a very large addition to the expense of carrying on the service by vessels employed on those rivers.

The attempts to rule this borough, on the part of the "select" members of the corporation, have been of the most despotic and even cruel description. In the year 1827, they assumed a character which called down upon their authors and agents the condemnation of the whole country. The fishermen, who form a part of the freemen, the ordnance servants forming the other, had for some few years shewn a disposition to resist the domination of the mayor and his partizans, and at length went so far as to oppose some of the bye-laws, which the select had concocted. To punish the temerity of these rebels, and also to perpetuate their own assumed authority, the continuance of which was thus endangered, the "select," consisting of the mayor, four jurats, and two bailiffs of the fisheries, refused to allow the resident fishermen to fish, and, moreover, threatened that the oyster beds of the fishery should not be stored with brood for the space of seven years to come, unless the fishermen severally signed a paper, acknowledging the impropriety of their conduct, and binding themselves to conform to such rules and regulations as they (the select body,) should deem it necessary to make; to the end, that all power should in future be vested, without appeal, exclusively in themselves. The fishermen indignantly rejected these conditions, and were in consequence reduced to a state of the most unexampled suffering. The contest between the antagonist, but unequal, powers was carried on for some time, but the select obtaining an adverse verdict, in an action which they brought against one of the obstreperous fishermen, the object of which was to obtain a legal sanction for their pretensions, tended materially to the abridgment of their unjust and insolent domination, and to the opening of the borough. The mayor died soon afterwards, and the select

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body in some matters relaxed the severe line of conduct generally pursued. They re-stocked the oyster-grounds, took off some part of the bye-laws, relating to the carrying trade in lobsters, and repealed the obnoxious bye-laws, for the breach of which they brought the action against Edward Skey, the fisherman. At the last general election, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Capel offered themselves as candidates, on the independent interest, in opposition to admiral Durham, and Mr. William Holmes, then "whipper-in" of the house of commons, who were the nominees of the ordnance department, and whose return was of course secured. A petition was presented against their election by the unsuccessful candidates, alleging that Mr. Holmes, being treasurer of the ordnance, and sir P. Durham an admiral, employed, with other officers and servants of the crown, the public ships, and money, and persons in the pay of government, for the purpose of controlling the election in their favour, and for carrying to the poll electors, and persons pretending a right to vote, many of whom were in the pay of government, under the board of ordnance; and that sir P. Durham represented himself as port admiral, and about to raise his flag there, which would enable him to give them employment: that part of the band of a regiment of royal artillery attended Mr. Holmes and admiral Durham, and flags and other ensigns bearing the ordnance arms were used by their partisans, and hung out of the windows of the house where they were staying. The petitioners also alleged, that many prize-fighters, and boxers, strangers to the borough, were taken there, in order to overawe the legal voters. A committee was ballotted for, to try the merits of this petition, but strange to say, the counsel for the ordnance nominees never received his brief! The petitioners were, therefore, declared to be duly elected, and the returned members were consequently unseated. Sir Robert Peel, having been on the committee, it is justly inferred, that there was the dread of a sad exposure of

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intimidation and corruption, on the part of the agents of government. Indeed, so much did the government fear exposure, that they made offers to Mr. Capel of a seat without expense, provided he would withdraw his pretensions to Queenborough, and abandon his friend Mr. Gladstone!

At a reform meeting recently held in Queenborough, it was stated by one of the speakers (Mr. Neve) that, of the 270 electors, nearly 100 held situations under government, and are all non-resident, and brought to vote for the ministerial members, at an expense of 15*l.* from Plymouth, 10*l.* from Portsmouth, and 5*l.* each from London; and that, from the year 1800, that borough alone has cost the country no less a sum than 750,000*l.* It was also stated that Mr. Capel, one of the present members, since the commencement of his connection with the independent resident freemen, had expended for them upwards of 20,000*l.*

.....

Carnegie, sir J. The only trace we can find of this member, is in voting against the civil list, but we are informed that he was chosen by the delegates for his known hostility to every liberal principle.

Aberdeen. *burgh, Scotland* The burghs of Aberdeen Alderbrothock, Brechin, Inverbervie, and Montrose send one member to parliament, whose election is determined by a delegate from each burgh.

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Carrington, sir C. E. (93, Jermyn Street). A retired chief justice of the island of Ceylon, with a pension. He votes like a pensioner, in fear of being deprived of his pay, by the success of any motion for retrenchment or reform.

St. Mawes, *Cornwall.* This is a small burgage tenure, consisting of a row of fishermen's cottages, opposite to the sea, and has no corporation. It has sent two members to parliament since 5, Elizabeth, who are chosen by the burgage tenures, all of whom are the property

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of the duke of Buckingham, by whom the voters for the day are created.

The following extract from a petition, which was recently presented to the house of commons, by one of the county members, from the inhabitants of St. Mawes, will shew the unblushing effrontery with which the peers of the realm rob the people of their most precious rights:—

"The petitioners beg to represent to the house, that unfortunately, they possess peculiar means of witnessing the baneful mode in which the machine of borough influence works its awful purposes, by having its nefarious operations exhibited before their own doors; they occasionally have their understandings insulted, and see their best interests sacrificed by the *shameless farce* of a *mock election* in their own village. Although the population consists of twelve hundred persons, the duke of Buckingham, on the last occasion, who claims for his *limited part* of the town the *exclusive right* of voting, brought only *eight* resident inhabitants to the poll, while the rest of the people were entirely excluded. These eight voters, who are the *humblest dependents* of the noble patron, at his desire, return two members to the house, who know no more of the inhabitants of that town, or of its local interests, than any two of the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land! To countenance this fraud, the mockery of a corporation is kept up, and the delusion is attempted to be sustained by the assumed semblance of municipal authority. The consequences to that town, are, that, like most other rotten boroughs, its trade languishes, its inhabitants are impoverished, its houses dilapidated, and it exhibits a picture of poverty, indolence, and degradation. In addition, the petitioners beg leave to remark, that the *agency* of the noble patron there has been distinguished by its offensive and arrogant deportment, heaping injury, insult, and injustice upon all those not within the circumscribed pale of his grace's property, or the still more narrow circle of his *agent's* favour."

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Carter, J. B. A barrister. He votes well. — Portsmouth. See Baring, p. 150.

.....

Cartwright, W. R. Uncle to viscount Chetwynd; he votes against reform and retrenchment, and is a veteran of Toryism. He seconded sir R. Vivyan's amendment against lord John Russell's great reform bill. — Northamptonshire. See Althorpe, p. 122.

.....

Castlereagh, viscount. Son to the marquis of Londonderry, and an ex-lord of the admiralty. His votes have been becoming a member of an anti-reform ministry. — Down, *county, Ireland.* The sitting members were returned, in consequence of a coalition formed between the Downshire and the Londonderry families.

.....

Cavendish, lord G. H. (49, Piccadilly). Uncle to the duke of Devonshire (see Peep). *Has voted for retrenchment. He belongs to the old whig school, and is nearly the father of the house of commons.* — Derbyshire. This county has sent two members to parliament since 18, Edward I. The duke of Devonshire influences the return of one member, from the extent of his property in the county.

.....

Cavendish, H. F. C. (34, Old Burlington St.). A son to lord George, a major, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army; he votes for reform. — Derby, *town.* The elective franchise, granted 23, Edward I. is vested in the corporation, freemen, and sworn burgesses, resident or not, amounting in all to about 700. The mayor is the returning officer, and the duke of Devonshire has sufficient influence to secure the return of one member.

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Cavendish, W. (10, Belgrave Square). Grandson of lord George, and cousin and heir-apparent to the duke of Devonshire. He is, moreover, a liberal man, and votes well.

Cambridge, University. The elective franchise, conferred by James I. is vested in the members who have attained the degree of doctor, or of master of arts, provided they be of age. The vice-chancellor and heads of colleges act as returning officers. The number of voters is about 1200.

.....

Cecil, lord T. brother to the marquis of Exeter, (hereditary grand almoner,) and a major in the army. Votes against retrenchment and reform.

Stamford, *Lincolnshire.* This is a corporate town, possessing chartered privileges superior to most other places in the kingdom, but is entirely dependent on the marquis of Exeter, who possesses the greater part of the houses, and nominates both the members. It has sent two members to parliament since 26, Edward I. with some intermissions to 12, Edward IV. The right of election is in the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot, in number between 500, and 600, but, as we have already remarked, they are under the direct control of the marquis of Exeter. A petition has been presented against the return of the sitting members, on the ground of the unconstitutional influence exercised by the marquis at the election. Nothing intimidated, however, his grace, acting upon the boroughmonger's principle, that he has a right to do what he will with his own, directed his attorney, after the election, not only to serve notices to quit upon such tenants as voted against his nominees, but to threaten even those who did vote according to his dictation, that unless they discharged *their* tenants who did not so vote, they should be turned out of the property they held of the house of Burleigh! Nay, more; the widows residing and paying rents for the marquis'

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tenements, were informed, that unless they married, or contrived by some other means to get the names of persons who could vote entered on the rate-books, out they must turn! So that even the sacred tie of matrimony is now prostituted to the detestable purposes of boroughmongering!

.....

CHANDOS, *marquis, (91, Pall Mall). Son of the duke of Buckingham, and nephew to lord Grenville.* (see Peep, for both.) *A violent anti-reformer of every thing, civil and religious.*

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. This county has sent two members since 28, Edward I. The dukes of Portland and Buckingham possess great influence.

.....

CHAPLIN, *T. (52, Welbeck Street). A lieutenant-colonel in the army. Voted against Manchester having members; and is not to be found on the right side of any question.*

STAMFORD. (See CECIL, p. 211.)

.....

CHAPLIN, *C. (52, Welbeck Street). A brother to the preceding member, and a friend to things as they are.*

LINCOLNSHIRE. This county has sent two members to parliament since 18, Edward I. The whig and tory interests generally compromise, and return one member each.

.....

CHAPMAN, *M. A new member. He voted for sir H. Parnell's motion, and lord John Russell's reform.*

WESTMEATH, *county, Ireland.*

.....

CHICHESTER, *sir A. (10, Sackville Street). A relation to the marquis of Donegal. He has voted*

BELFAST, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election in this borough vests in the burgesses, about thirteen in number, but

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against reform and retrenchment; but is in the majority on the great measure.

they are under the control of the marquis of Donegal.

.....

Chichester, A. (38, *Portman Square*). *Nephew to the marquis of Donegal, son-in-law to the marquis of Anglesea, and a lieutenant in the army. He votes like his relation and namesake, above.*

Wexford, *county, Ireland.* The earl of Mountmorris, who is governor of the county, returns his son lord Valentia. We know not by whose influence Mr. Chichester obtains his seat.

.....

Cholmeley, M. J. Brother-in-law to the duke of St. Albans, and also to Mr. J. Buxton, the member for Bedwin. He seems to be afraid of reform, but has sometimes voted for retrenchment; and now for lord John Russell's reform bill.

Grantham, *Lincolnshire.* This borough has sent two members to parliament since 2, Edward IV. It is governed by a corporation, and the right of election vests in the freemen not receiving alms, in number between seven hundred, and eight hundred. It was for many years under the influence of the duke of Rutland, and lord Brownlow, but has been opened by the power of money, which now carries the election.

.....

Cholmondeley, lord H. (20, *Whitehall Place*). *Brother to the marquis of Cholmondeley, and son-in-law to the right honourable Charles Arbuthnot. He is a decided anti-reformer.*

Castle Rising, *Norfolk.* This borough, at no very remote period, is said to have contained but two houses and two voters; the number of inhabitants in 1821, was three hundred and forty-three. The corporation formerly consisted of a mayor, recorder, high steward, twelve aldermen, and fifty burgesses, but at present it consists of only two aldermen,

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who alternately serve the nominal office of mayor. It has sent two members to parliament since the reign of Philip and Mary, the right of election being in the free burgesses, now about forty in number, who are the mere passive instruments of the proprietor of the estates—the honourable Upton Howard.

.....

Churchill, lord C. S. Son to the duke of Marlborough, (see Peep,) *and brother to the marquis of Blandford. He sits for the first time in parliament, and we can only find two votes —one in favour of inquiry into the civil list; the other against lord John Russell's reform bill!*

Woodstock. See Blandford, p. 170.

.....

Clements, J. N. Cousin to the earl of Leitrim, a colonel in the army, and a captain of dragoons. He seldom votes, and never speaks—a valuable member! He did, however, vote against sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list, and lord John Russell's reform bill. He is returned by an interest totally opposed to the earl of Leitrim.

Leitrim, *county. Ireland.*

.....

Clerk, sir G. Cousin to lord Ellenborough, and an ex-lord of the admiralty. He hates retrenchment, because it would diminish the pension list; and deprecates reform, because it would subvert the monarchy! His mother is a pensioner on the Scotch list.

Edinburgh, *county.* This county sends but one member to parliament, though it has a population of perhaps upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand. And this one member is elected by a self-constituted body of thirty-three individuals!

.....

Clinton, C. G. F. (58, Cadogan Place). Cousin

Aldborough, *Yorkshire.* This parish, which does not

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to the duke of Newcastle, and also to sir H. Clinton; a general in the army, and colonel of the 55th regiment of foot, and son to the Rev. F. Clinton, prebendary of Westminster Abbey. He is a barrister, and seldom attends the house. He has voted against reform.

contain more than one hundred and ten houses, has sent four members to parliament since the reign of Philip and Mary, under the names of the boroughs of Aldborough and Boroughbridge. They do not, like Steyning and Bramber, in Sussex, consist of one paltry street, or, like Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire, unite in choosing four members, but are separate and distinct boroughs, without arms or corporation, and almost destitute of every thing else but representatives. A bailiff, appointed at the court-leet of the lord of the manor, is the returning officer, and the right of election is in sixty-four housekeepers, paying scot and lot; and these houses are all the property of the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Lawson, but the latter has only a minority, the election interest is wholly in the duke of Newcastle, who appoints the members.

.....

CLIVE, *viscount.* (37, *Brook Street*).

CLIVE, *hon. R. H.*

The viscount is eldest son to lord Powis, and son-in-law to the duke of Montrose. (See Peep.) *He votes seldom, but badly. R. H. Clive is his brother, and the same must be said of his voting as of his brother's. They are anti-reformers.*

LUDLOW, *Shropshire.* The right of election in this corporate borough, which has returned two members since 12, Edward IV., is in all the resident burgesses, about five hundred in number. The earl of Powis, who is recorder of Shrewsbury and Ludlow, has the predominant influence, and returns his two sons.

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Clive, H. Cousin to the earl of Powis, and a decided anti-reformer.

Montgomery, *town, Wales.* This borough has sent one member to parliament since 27, Henry VIII. The right of election is in the burgesses only, in number between sixty and seventy; but they are under the complete control of lord Powis, who is lord lieutenant of the county.

.....

Clive, E. B. (18, Grafton Street). Another cousin of the earl of Powis, but a liberal member, voting for retrenchment and reform.

Hereford, *city.* This city, which is governed by a mayor and corporation, has sent two members to parliament since 18, Edward I., the right of election being in the freemen, both resident and non-resident, in number about one thousand two hundred. The election is carried by the influence of money.

....

Cockburn, sir G. An ex-lord of the admiralty, a vice-admiral, and a major-general of marines. His wife, and six others of his family, are on the pension list. He votes, as is fitting, against all reform.

Plymouth, *Devon.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The elective franchise is restricted to the corporation, consisting of about two hundred persons, under the direct influence of the admiralty, which is now represented by two admirals.

.....

Cocks, J. (43, Charing Cross). Cousin to lord Somers, and a banker, and an East India proprietor. He votes against reform.

Ryegate, *Surrey.* This borough has sent two members to parliament since 23, Edward I. There is no corporation, and the right of election is in the freeholders, about two hundred in number, under the domination of lords Hardwicke and Somers, who each return a member.

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Coke, T. W. Son-in-law to the earl of Albemarle, who is master of the horse to the king. At a public dinner at Wisbeach, given soon after the last general election, to celebrate the return of Mr. Adeane and lord F. Osborne for Cambridge, Mr. Coke said, "no man admired more than he did the constitution; he had sat a long time in the house of commons, and he became more than ever convinced of the necessity of a reform—which would prevent the introduction of the minions of the aristocracy, which would put an end to proceedings like those which had been witnessed at Newark and at Stamford. He dared not trust to his feelings to reprobate the conduct of the aristocracy, who by their influence sent their minions to the house of commons, and thus found means, at the expense of others, to provide for the younger and dependent branches of their families."

Now, Mr. Coke is a highly respected gentleman, and when people observe his votes in the house, and hear him thus properly reprobating the conduct of the aristocracy, they necessarily conclude that he himself is an honest man, and not in any way contaminated;—that he is no plunderer of the people, that he has not sought and "found means, at the expense of others, to provide for the younger and dependent branches of his own family," and above all, that he has not done so, on any claim to be one of the aristocracy—much less, that he has made this the ground for obtaining a larger sum from the taxes than the prime minister himself.

How surprised will the reader be to see it proved, that Mr. Coke has done all these things, and actually has, and is still receiving large lumps of money, extorted by taxation, and that, too, of the worst kind—taxes levied solely for his own use, without even the pretence of their being levied for the

Norfolk, *county.* This county, which is considered to be independent, has sent two members to parliament since 22, Edward I.

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state—without any act of parliament authorising their being levied for him, and contrary to the opinion of the law officers of the crown, that they could not be legally levied for his use!

It appears by the memorial of Thomas William Coke, Esq. of Holkham, dated in July, 1825 (*see parliamentary paper, No.* 241, *p.* 17—*session,* 1829), *that king Charles the second, granted to Richard Tufton, Esq., afterwards earl of Thanet, a lease of the light-house at Dungeness, in the county of Kent, at the annual rent of* 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d. That Thomas lord Lovel (afterwards earl of Leicester) married the daughter of the earl of Thanet, and obtained a new lease, at the annual rent of* 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d. That this lease expired on the* 24*th June,* 1737, *and that king George the second then granted to the said earl another lease, at the same annual rent. By these leases a tax of one penny per ton was extorted from every ship every time she passed the light-house.*

The lease would expire on the 24*th June,* 1828, *and Mr. Coke prays that a new lease may be granted to him. He says: "Your memorialist's ancestor, the said Thomas earl of Leicester, married the daughter of the said Richard earl of Thanet; that, under and by virtue of the will of the said earl, your memorialist is now entitled to the said light-house and the tolls thereof; that the said light-house has been under the care and in the possession of your memorialist's ancestors and family since the time of king Charles the second to the present time, and he is desirous that he and his family should be allowed to retain the possession and care thereof."*

Mr. Coke "dared not trust himself to speak of the conduct of the aristocracy, who found means to provide, at the expense of others, for the younger and dependent part of their families." Yet here he identifies himself with this aristocracy, and shews that his ancestors and himself have had the means, "at the expense of others, of providing for

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the younger and dependent part of his own family," for a century and a half, uninterruptedly. The amount of public money thus pocketed by Mr. Coke and his ancestors must have exceeded half a million sterling!

This tax was considered so unjust, that in 1822, *when the shipping interest was greatly depressed, a select committee was appointed by the house of commons to inquire respecting the charges on shipping, and among other matters reported (3d report on foreign trade) that "There is another description of light-houses, of which the patents have been produced to your committee, the erection of which have been at different times assigned to individuals, by the crown, with power to collect dues thereon. The lights of Dungeness, Harwich, Winterton, Orford, Spurn, and Yarmouth, are here alluded to." The committee further state, that they have reason to believe that great incomes are derived by those who have charge or care of them, and therefore "feel it incumbent on them to suggest (on the expiration of the grants of all these light-houses) that the patents, instead of being granted to individuals, should be transferred to the trinity house, and the lights made subject to the same conditions, and placed in every respect on the same footing, as other lights under their management."*

The privy council for trade, in a letter to the trinity house, dated 30*th October*, 1822, *express their approbation of the report of the select committee, and a hope that the suggestions of the committee will be attended to. In January*, 1826, *the trinity house remind the lords of the treasury that the grant of Dungeness light-house will expire in June, and express a hope that it will not be renewed, but will be transferred to that corporation for the public use; but the agent of Mr. Coke addressed the treasury on the* 2*nd of March, and stated "that the said light-house, and tolls or dues, have been always, from time to time, made the subject of family settlements and arrange-*

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ments, and treated as a part of the family estate, and settled therewith as leasehold, renewable under the crown for a period of nearly one hundred years. On the 16*th November,* 1828, *the lords of the treasury renew to Mr. Coke a grant of the light-house, for twenty-one years, with power to collect from all shipping a rate of one half-penny a ton, and that after deducting the expense of collecting and maintaining the light-house, one half of the clear surplus profit shall be paid to the commissioners of woods and forests, and the other half shall be retained for his own use!*

To determine the actual amount of the tax on commerce received by Mr. Coke and his ancestors, previous to 1822, *might occasion some difficulty; but the parliamentary paper before noticed, contains Mr. Coke's own account of the sums extorted by this tax in the five following years, thus—*

	Gross receipt.	*Net, deducting expenses.*
In 1823 . . .	£8,624	£7,555
1824 . . .	8,675	7,563
1825 . . .	9,100	7,946
1826 . . .	8,893	7,760
1827 . . .	8,898	7,787
	£44,190	£38,620

Shewing that 44,190*l. has been extorted from the trade of the country at this one light-house job, in five years, by Mr. Coke, of Holkham, he admitting that the whole of the expenses he has paid are only* 5,570*l. and that he has put into his own pocket a moiety of* 38,620*l. in five years.*

Now, what is this but raising money at the expense of others to provide for family dependents? With what face does he complain of the aristocracy and their disreputable and injurious conduct, when he himself claims to be one of them, and practises the same disreputable and injurious conduct himself? Under his own hand he has admitted that

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his ancestors, for one hundred and fifty years, had been plundering the people of monstrous sums of money, and that he was desirous to continue the plundering under cover of a lease, or grant, from the king.

The report of the committee of the house of commons contains the opinion of the law officers of the crown, "That the king cannot authorise light-dues, or any other dues, excepting such reasonable dues as may be requisite to keep up the light-house, and that it was for this purpose the grant or patent was given." and it contains no proviso, that either Mr. Coke's ancestors or himself should pocket between 7,000*l.* *and* 8,000*l.* *a year of the public money, "to provide for the younger and dependent branches of the family," or to be "made the subject of family settlement and arrangement, as part of the family estate." Yet it was on these grounds that Mr. Coke prayed the grant, and obtained it! So much for consistency!*

.....

Colborne, N. W. R. (19, Hill Street). A barrister, and brother to sir M. W. Ridley, member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He has two brothers in the church, and a sister married to one of lord Eldon's sons, and mother of viscount Encombe, member for Truro. He has voted for reform and retrenchment.

Horsham. The elective franchise in this borough, conferred 23, Edward I., is in all such persons as possess an estate of inheritance, or for life, in the burgage-houses or burgage-lands lying within the borough, in number about 25, and entirely in the hands of the duke of Norfolk. The late duke was at considerable pains to acquire the ascendancy, and it is said, had the tact to induce the late Mr. Ducense to part with the title of the freehold of his estates, and take a long lease of them for 999 years. Mr. Colborne owes his seat to his vote in favour of the catholic relief bill.

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Cole, hon. A. N. (15, Jermyn Street). Son to the earl of Enniskillen, and nephew to sir Lowry Cole (whose military and colonial pay is about 9000l. a-year). He votes against retrenchment and reform.

Enniskillen, *borough, Ireland.* The earl of Enniskillen, who is custos rotulorum and governor of the county, has the nomination of the member.

.....

Constable, sir T. A. C. One of the new Roman catholic members; and an enemy to reform and retrenchment.

Hedon, *Yorkshire.* This is a small corporate borough, containing only about 1000 inhabitants, though it has returned two members since 23, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of election is in the burgesses, in number between 300 and 400. The patron is *the highest bidder.* Oldfield says, that here, almost every burgess thinks it incumbent on him to lay the candidates under as severe a contribution as possible. Ribbon bills will amount to five hundred pounds each. The candidates' agents will lend the burgesses money, which is never returned. The families of several burgesses have almost lived by their exactions, and yet their idleness has ruined them. Voters have been known to ask a hundred pounds, and eighty pounds have actually been bidden for a vote! The nominal price of a vote is twenty pounds; that is, twenty pounds are expected by each voter, in case there is no opposition. Where such enormities prevail, inferior vices will necessarily flourish.

.....

Cooke, sir H. F. (50, Charles Street, Berkeley Square). A colonel in the army, late aid-de-camp to the duke of York, and brother to general sir George

Orford, *Suffolk.* An insignificant corporate borough, with a population of about 1200, and returning two members to parliament since 22, Edward I., with some in-

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Cooke, whose pay and pension is 1599*l.* 12*s.* 7*d. Seldom attends the house: the only vote we can find is against reform in the court of chancery. He paired off against lord John Russell's bill.*

terruptions till Henry VIII. The right of election is in the mayor, portmen, capital burgesses, and freemen, in number about 20, under the control of the marquis of Hertford.

.....

*Cooper, E. S. (*58, *Upper Seymour Street). A barrister. Seldom votes, but when he does, it is badly.*

Sligo, *county, Ireland.*

.....

*Coote, sir C. (*5, *Connaught Place). Votes against reform and retrenchment. At the last election, his seat being endangered by the threatened opposition of Mr. Cassiley, he promised to support reform; and to shew his sincerity, when he got into the house he voted against sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list, and subsequently against reform!*

Queen's county, *Ireland.* The registered freeholders are about 600.

.....

Coote, Eyre. A new member, and has voted against reform and retrenchment. His mother was a Bagwell, and upon the interest of that family he is returned. His father-in-law, Massey Dawson, having made way for him.

Clonmel, *Ireland.* This borough is under the influence of the Bagwell family. The corporation, consisting of about 100, enjoy the right of voting, *under the direction of their patrons!*

.....

Cornewall, T. H. Son to the bishop of Worcester. A new member, and voted

Bishop's Castle, *Salop.* This is a small corporate borough, and has returned two

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against civil list inquiry, and parliamentary reform.

members since the 15, Elizabeth. The elective franchise is confined to the resident burgesses, in number about 60, under the control of the earl of Powis, to whom nearly the whole of the property belongs. Mr. William Holmes was employed as agent to defend this borough against the attack made on it by the late hon. Douglas Kinnaird.

.....

Corry, viscount. Eldest son of the earl of Belmore, who is governor of Jamaica, at 7000l. a-year. He voted against repeal of corporation and test acts and catholic disabilities, and also against all retrenchment and reform.

Fermanagh, *Ireland.* See Archdall, p. 127.

.....

Corry, hon. H. Brother to the former member, and his votes are worthy his relationship—par nobile fratrum !

Tyrone, *county, Ireland.* Although a large and populous county, Tyrone has been for the last 60 years governed in all its movements by the *noble* families of Abercorn, Belmore, Northland, and Stewart.

.....

Cotterell, sir J. G. (9, George Street, Hanover Square). A colonel in the army. He has voted against catholic relief, and all reform and retrenchment. He is the tory member.

Herefordshire, *county.* This county has returned two members since 18, Edward I. The two great political factions, whig and tory, compromise, to save expense, and each returns a member.

.....

Courtenay, right hon. T. Ex-vice-president of the board of trade, brother to the clerk assistant in the house of lords, and a staunch anti-reformer, and enemy of liberal institutions.

Totness. See Baldwin, p. 144.

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Cradock, hon. J. H. Son to lord Howden, attached to the embassy at Paris, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He is the friend of reform.

Dundalk, *Ireland.* This is a corporate borough, the right of voting in which is in the burgesses, about 36 in number, under the dictation of the earl of Roden, who is custos-rotulorum of the county.

.....

Cradock, S. Voted against reform, and inquiry into the civil list.

Camelford, *Cornwall.* This is a corporate borough, consisting of about 1500 inhabitants, and has returned two members since the reign of Edward VI. The mayor is the returning officer, and the right of election is restricted to the freemen being bona-fide householders, in number about 20, under the control of the marquis of Cleveland, who purchased the borough for 51,000*l.*

.....

Crampton, P. C. Solicitor general for Ireland. He is just returned, in the place of Mr. Gregson.

Saltash, *Cornwall.* This is another of the Cornish boroughs, with a population of about 1500, belonging to the proprietor of West Looe, and has returned two members since 6, Edward VI. Several decisions regarding its constitution have taken place. In 1785, it was resolved that the elective franchise vested alone in the corporation; but in the next year it was determined to be in the possessors of 36 burgage-holds belonging to Mr. Buller. In 1807, there was another decision, by which the right of voting is to be exercised by the mayor, burgesses, and free members of the corporation; and, since then, three more petitions have been tried, two of which were determined in favour of the burgage holds, but the last, which, under the Grenville act, is final, was for the corporation. Within 25 years this borough has

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occupied the attention of seven committees of the house of commons, for several weeks each time—not to determine how the rights of the people have been invaded in this monopoly of their elective franchise, but to determine whether a few contemptible burgage-holds, belonging to one man, shall nominate the two members, or whether about a score of clerks and placemen in Plymouth dock-yard shall usurp a power to which neither class have a shadow of right! It is said that this contest, carried on between lord Grenville and Mr. Buller, has cost them 100,000*l*. Verily, the patronage of a borough must be something worth!

.....

Cripps, J. A banker in the town which he represents. He seldom attends, and has voted against retrenchment.

Cirencester. See Apsley, p. 124.

.....

Croker, right hon. J. W. Late secretary to the admiralty, a pensioner, and an anti-reformer. His half sister, whom he has adopted as a daughter, also has a pension of 300l. a-year. This man has elevated himself by positive assurance—with some little turn for doggerel verse. No one person who ever held office was unpopular.

Aldeburgh, *Suffolk*. This is a poor corporate borough, with a population of about 1200, chiefly sea-faring people and fishermen. It has returned two members since 15, Elizabeth, the elective franchise being vested in the bailiffs, burgesses, and freemen, not receiving alms, in number about 40, and under the exclusive influence of the marquis of Hertford, who purchased it of Mr. Crespigny.

.....

Curtis, H., Jun. This gentleman belongs to the landed interest, but sup-

Sussex, *county*. This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I,

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ports reform to a certain degree.

It was formerly under the domination of the aristocracy, but recovered its independence in 1774; though the dukes of Richmond and Dorset, and earls Chichester, Ashburnham, and Egremont, have great influence, especially the former and the latter.

.....

Curzon, hon. R. (24, Upper Brook Street). Uncle to lord Howe (who is lord chamberlain in the queen's household) and husband of baroness Zouche. He attends badly, and has always voted against even "moderate reform." He is a miserable tory.

Clitheroe, *Lancashire* This borough has returned two members since 1, Elizabeth, the right of voting being in the burgesses and freemen, about 45 in number, under the influence of earls Howe and Brownlow. A curious deed relating to this borough has been brought to light, and shews with what perfect *sang froid* the aristocracy usurp, and then convey away as they please, the rights of the people. This deed, which bears date June 22, 1785, was executed between the families of Lister and Curzon, and sets forth that these two families are owners or proprietors of ninety burgages and one half burgage in the borough of Clitheroe. It states that 42 entire burgages belong to Thomas Lister, Esq., and the remainder to the Curzons. The deed goes on to state, that as it is desirable to prevent disputes, each of the contracting parties shall, at every general election, nominate one member. In another part of the deed is an agreement, how a vacancy shall be filled up, if any occurs, subsequently to a general election; but in the whole document not one word is said about the electors; they are no parties to the contract. The practice at Clitheroe is, that persons living in burgage houses hold them and other property at rents below their value; and should a refractory burgess at any time vote against the patron's nominee, he

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is sure to suffer. At the conclusion of the deed, the contracting parties solemnly pledge themselves to abide by the enactments "by the words, faith, and honour of gentlemen"!

.....

Cust, hon. P. F. (8, *Charles Street, Berkley Square*). *Brother to the earl of Brownlow, and also to the member for Lestwithiel, and the hon. W. Cust, a commissioner of customs. He is in the army, and married to a daughter of the late duke of Buccleugh. In addition to the brothers we have noticed, he has one who is canon of Windsor, another who is rector of Belton, another who is a captain of dragoons, and equerry to prince Leopold, and another who is a barrister. This family, therefore, is pretty well off—the navy, the army, the church, the bar, and the customs, minister to their wants! It is quite necessary, therefore, that both this member and his brother should, as they do, vote against retrenchment, and especially against a reform in parliament!*

Clitheroe. See above.

.....

Cust, hon. E. (1, *New Street, Spring Gardens*). *See the preceding member.*

Lestwithiel, *Cornwall*. This borough, though containing a population of only about 1,000, has returned two members since 23, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of voting vests in the mayor, capital burgesses, and assistants, in number about 24, under the influence of the earl of Mount Edgecumbe.

.....

Dalrymple, sir A. J. (129, *Park Street*). *A lieutenant-colonel in the army, and a regular anti-reforming—anti-retrenching hack. He must be*

Jedburgh, *Scotland*. One of the Scotch burghs. An exchange of seats is made by the earls of Londsdale and Laudersdale. Lord Maitland, as the latter's eldest

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kicked out of the house at the next election.

son, is precluded, by the act of union, from sitting for a Scotch burgh, is retained for Appleby. The earl of Lonsdale's nominee sits for Jedburgh instead.

.....

Darlington, earl of, (49, *Upper Brook Street*). *Son to the marquis of Cleveland, brother to Mr. Powlett, member for Durham, and brother-in-law to Mr. Milbank, member for Camelford. He is a decided anti-reformer, excepting as to giving members to a few large towns. The disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs, without a compensation, he holds to be unjust, and has declared, that so long as he has a sinew in his right arm he will resist so foul a thing as vote by ballot! He maintains that tax-payers are not the best judges of taxation, and that the only alleviation for the distresses of the country is to be found in* the charity and consideration of the higher classes, *for whom he thinks all others should exist.*

Saltash, *Cornwall.* See Crampton, p. 225.

.....

Davies, colonel. This is a valuable member. He acts with Mr. Hume, and furnishes a rare example of military independence.

Worcester, *city.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since the reign of Edward I. The returning officer is the sheriff, and the right of voting is enjoyed by citizens, not receiving alms, in number about 2,000. The prevailing influences are said to be the corporation and money.

.....

Davis, R. H. Has a son who is commissioner of excise, and is himself a banker. He votes against retrenchment and reform, and is an enemy to every liberal principle.

Bristol. See Baillie, p 133.

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Dawson, Alexander, (22, Downing Street). An independent and honest man, whose vote is to be found against every abuse, and in favour of every liberal measure. At the last general election Mr. Dawson, who had represented Louth in the previous parliament, was again proposed, and in addressing the electors he thus adverted to his entrance into public life:—"I was living on my farm in retirement, occasionally acting as a magistrate, and striving to contribute to the improvement of the district surrounding me, when the writ of the election in 1826 *was published, and a call was pronounced in Dublin by the great agitator—"What is Louth doing?" "Is there no deliverer there?" I heard the call, and many neighbours in Ardee heard that call; they waited upon me, and I decided to stand a candidate, and to appeal to the freeholders of the county; in the short space of fourteen days, from a private country gentleman, I became a member of the British senate; my triumph was splendid, but it was better than splendid; it was more remarkable and intrinsically valuable, because it was identified with the triumph of civil and religious freedom. It was remarkable for this; that I was returned without expense to myself, and you gave me not only your votes and exertions, but a large portion of the contents of your purses. You thus rivalled the electors of Westminster, and shewed the metropolis of England that the freeholders of Louth were*

Louth, *county, Ireland.* This is one of the most independent counties in Ireland. The last election was severely contested; the candidates being Mr. A. Dawson, M'Clintock, Shiel, and Bellew. Mr. Leslie Foster, the former member, had been raised to the bench. The Bellews incurred great odium in this affair, as it was evident that they only interfered to prevent the return of Mr. Shiel, and in so doing they secured the election of Mr. M'Clintock, who is an anti-reformer.

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not inferior to the proudest portion of the electors of Great Britain."

.....

Dawson, G. R. Brother-in-law to sir Robert Peel, and late secretary of the treasury, with a pension. Of course, an anti-reformer.

Harwich, *Essex.* This is a corporate borough, and sent two members in 17, Edward III., but was discontinued till 12, James, I. The mayor is the returning officer, and the right of voting resides in the corporation, consisting of 32 persons. It is under the control of the treasury.

.....

Dennison, J. W. (Pall Mall). Brother-in-law to the marquis of Conyngham, and a banker. He is a liberal member, and a reformer.

Surrey, *county.* See Brixcoe, p 182.

.....

Denman, sir T. (50, *Russell Square.) Sir Thomas, who is now attorney general, is a learned, liberal, and amiable man, and in his character as a legislator has always advocated popular rights. Justice, however, requires it to be said, that as a judicial functionary, he has sometimes permitted his private feelings to interfere with the due administration of justice. One of the most striking instances in which this occurred, was upon the trial of one of Mr. Carlile's shopmen, in* 1819, *for the publication of what was determined by the verdict of a jury to be a blasphemous and wicked libel. Mr. Denman, as common sergeant of the city of London, presided as judge upon this occasion, and exposed himself to just and bitter animadversion. The*

Nottingham. This is a corporate town, which has returned two members since 26, Edward I. The elective franchise is enjoyed by all the freemen, in number about 4,500, and the town enjoys a high reputation for its independence.

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accused avowed in the publication, that it contained his opinions, and that he had published them for the benefit of society. "I consider," said he, "that I have done my duty. The pamphlet contained my views and principles; I published them, and I have no hesitation in saying, I will continue to publish them in every shape that I am able." The common sergeant regretted that the court found itself absolutely called upon, in consequence of the defence *the prisoner had read, and the expressions which had now fallen from him, to pass a much* more severe sentence *than he would have otherwise received. The prisoner was then sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in the house of correction, and at the end of that period to find sureties for five years, himself in £100, and two others in £40 each. How is such conduct in a judge to be justified or approved? The punishment of the culprit was not inflicted in consequence of the legal crime he had committed, but in consequence of the defence he had made, and the expressions he had permitted to fall from him in court! Such a proceeding detracts very materially from the otherwise excellent character of Mr. Denman, and tends to strengthen the suspicions of his sincerity, which have been created by the prosecutions brought against the press since he became attorney general: Carpenter, Carlile, and Cobbett, have been prosecuted during his short career! In these prosecutions he has shewn himself to be more the lawyer than either the statesman or the patriot. Mr. Denman is wanting in moral and philosophical courage.*

.....

Dering, sir E. C. This member votes against reform.

Wexford, *borough, Ireland.* At the last election, Mr. Wigram was returned by the mayor, but has been unseated upon the petition of the freemen of the borough,

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who alleged the interference of the marquis of Ely, and the unfair conduct of the mayor, who is the returning officer. This magistrate, it was stated, confined thirty freemen in his house, to prevent any one speaking with them but the friends of sir R. Wigram and the marquis of Ely, and also refused the votes of several persons in the interest of sir E. Dering, while he admitted persons to vote on the other side, who were not qualified. The number of persons who voted altogether at the election, was 59; of those 31 were for Mr. Wigram, and 28 for sir Edward Dering. The principal question before the committee was, whether the votes of eleven apprentices, tendered on behalf of sir Edward Dering, and rejected, should be placed upon the poll. The objection was, that they had not been duly sworn. It appeared in evidence that they had been sworn, but there was no proof that the court had been complete, so as to render it a legal swearing in. After having been occupied for four days with the subject, the committee decided in favour of the validity of the votes; and resolved, "That the right of election was not in the description of persons that was set forth in the petition, but that it consisted in such persons as had served an apprenticeship of seven years to freemen, or had resided in the borough of Wexford at the period of their admission to the freedom, or had carried on business for six years in Wexford, pursuant to statute 14 and 15 Charles II., and the new rules for the better encouragement of protestants to take up their residence in different towns in Ireland. That sir Robert Wigram, knight, was not duly elected at the last election; but that sir Edward Cholmeley Dering, baronet, was duly elected, and ought to have been returned.

It is rather singular, that a committee had last year decided that sir Robert Wigram had not been duly elected for Wexford, but that sir Robert Dering had; and that Mr. Clive had been chairman on both occasions. By the decision of the committee, this borough, which has been under the

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joint patronage of the marquis of Ely and lady Carey, has been thrown open.

.....

Dick, Q. (20, Curzon Street). An East India proprietor. He voted against catholic emancipation, Jews' relief bill, and reform. He has voted for some motions for trifling retrenchment.

Maldon, *Essex.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 2, Edward III. A letter from an elector of this place, gives an admirable illustration of the workings of the borough system. He states that, under the charter, servitude, birth, and marriage admit to the franchise. At the general election of 1826, the hon. George Winn and Mr. Lennard were candidates; Mr. Gaskell and colonel Q. Dick, Esq., having plenty of money, and a desire to get into parliament, were brought forward, and a contest of fourteen days was the consequence. All that could make out a claim were hunted up all over the kingdom; their freedom taken up, sent to the borough, and all their expenses paid, at a cost, to the three candidates, of 40,000*l.* This borough not having, in 1821, a population of 4,000, will, by the plan of his majesty's ministers, lose one member. At the above election, there were polled 3,113, of which only 244, were resident, and 586 in London; the remainder were scattered over all parts of the country; more than one-half never saw the town before, nor ever will again. Of the resident freemen, many were paupers (neither party asking any questions as to their having received parochial relief); whilst a great proportion of gentlemen and respectable tradesmen had no vote, not being of the happy number of those marrying a freeman's daughter, nor having obtained it by the other means!

.....

Dickenson, W. A West India proprietor. He voted against reform, and has

Somersetshire. This county has sent two members since the 22, Edward I.

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never had any other view but to preserve his seat for the county, and for this has sacrificed character.

.....

Domville, sir C. Son-in-law to the bishop of Kildare, and custos-rotulorum of the county of Dublin. He votes against reform.

PLYMPTON. See ANTROBUS, p. 121.

.....

Dottin, A. R. (31, Argyle Street). A West India proprietor. He votes against every thing good. Formerly in the life guards, and distinguished for his elegance in dancing a minuet.

SOUTHAMPTON, *Hampshire.* This is a town and county of itself, and has sent two members to parliament since 22, Edward I. The right of election is in the free burgesses, and inhabitants paying scot and lot, in number about 800. The election is determined by the influence of money, but an independent spirit has latterly shewn itself.

.....

Douglas, W. R. K. (95, Eaton Square). An ex-lord of the admiralty; brother of the marquis of Queensbury, and a West India proprietor through his wife. Speaks and votes against reform.

DUMFRIES, *Scotland.* The burghs of Sanquhar, Annam, Lochamaben, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries return one member, jointly, who is elected by the five delegates, one from each burgh. Four of these burghs, are under the influence of the marquis of Queensbury.

.....

Douglas, hon. C. Brother to lord Douglas. He voted for inquiry into civil list, but against reform. He was brought in in opposition to the interest of the duke of Hamilton.

LANARK, *county, Scotland.* The voters in this county hardly exceed 60.

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Douro, marquis. Son to the duke of Wellington, and a major in the army. He votes against reform, as a thing of course. He is returned by the marquis of Hertford.

ALDEBURGH. See CROKER, p. 226.

.....

Dowdeswell, J. (25, Southampton Buildings). A master in chancery, with nearly 4000l. a year, and likes neither reform nor retrenchment. This family has invariably sold itself to every minister of the day.

TEWKESBURY, *Gloucestershire.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members since 7, James I. The right of election is in the freemen and freeholders, between 400, and 500, under the influence of the families of Dowdeswell and Master, who each return a member.

.....

Drake, W. T.
Drake, T. T.
W. T. is a colonel in the army. Both of them vote against retrenchment and reform.

AMERSHAM, *Bucks.* This is a little borough by prescription, forming but part of the market town bearing the name, but has returned two members since Edward I., with an interval of 400 years. The right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, about 125 in number, but wholly under the dictation of Mr. W. Drake.

.....

Drummond, H. H. A barrister in the Scotch courts. He votes badly on all questions.

STIRLING, *county, Scotland.* This county has returned one member since the reign of Anne.

.....

Duff, hon. A. Brother to the earl of Fife, a general in the army, and co-

ELGIN, *burgh, Scotland.* The burghs of Elgin, Banff, Cullen, Inverary, and Kintyne,

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lonel of the 92d foot. We cannot find that he has even attended! unite in returning one member.

.....

Dugdale, D. S. Uncle to lord Howe (see Curzon,) *and a lover of corruption.* Warwick, *county.* This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I.

.....

Dugdale, W. S. One of lord Grosvenor's nominees; but voted for reform. Shaftesbury, *Dorset.* This town has returned two members since 26, Edward I. It is governed by a mayor and common council, and the right of voting is in the burgesses and inhabitants paying scot and lot. For many years the most barefaced bribing was practised in this borough. In 1774, evidence was given before a committee of the house of commons, that money, to the amount of several thousand pounds, had been given among the voters, in sums of twenty guineas a man; and the persons who were entrusted with the disbursement of this money, and who were chiefly the magistrates of the town, devised very singular and absurd contrivances, in hopes of being thus able to conceal through what channel it was conveyed to the electors. A person concealed under a ludicrous and fantastical disguise, and called by the name of *Punch*, was placed in a small apartment, and through a hole in the door delivered to the voters parcels, containing twenty guineas each: upon which they were conducted to another apartment in the same house, where they found another person called *Punch's secretary*, who required them to sign notes for the value received: these notes were made payable to an imaginary character, to whom was given the name of Glenbucket. Two of the witnesses swore that they had seen Punch through a hole in the door, and that they knew him to be Mr. Matthews, an alderman in the town, and an agent for the sitting members.

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Some years since, the greater part of the property in the borough passed into the hands of the earl of Grosvenor, who, as a matter of right, nominated both the members. Previous to the last general election, however, two or three of the inhabitants, feeling the degradation to which they had so long submitted, determined to throw off the yoke of the lord, and to exercise the trust reposed in them for the benefit of their country. A society was formed, and a candidate of popular principles was elected by them, in the person of Mr. Knowles, a son of the admiral of that name. On the day of the election, this gentleman was nominated by Mr. George Rutter, a bookseller of the town, and a spirited contest was carried on against his lordship's nominees till the last, and there is reason to believe that, notwithstanding lord Grosvenor's great influence as a landlord—had the election been conducted with fairness, he might have been contented to return only one member. Not only was every species of intimidation resorted to by his lordship's agents, but the mayor, who is the returning officer, acted in the most partial and oppressive manner towards Mr. Knowles, and thus defeated the honest purposes of the spirited people of Shaftesbury. Notwithstanding this, however, his lordship's overwhelming influence is at an end in the borough, 140 voters out of fewer than 300 having then voted against his nominees, and these will be greatly augmented at the next election. Since the termination of the contest, the earl has been following the *noble* example of his grace of Newcastle, as will be seen from the following resolution, unanimously adopted at a recent meeting held in the borough:

"That at the late election of representatives for this borough, Robert Earl Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave, and a lord of parliament, lord lieutenant of the county of Flint, and recorder of Shaftesbury, did, by his agents, illegally and unconstitutionally interfere in the said election, by soliciting and influencing certain electors of this borough to vote for Edward Penrhyn and William Stratford Dugdale, esquires,

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the friends, and notoriously the nominees of the said earl; and although the said nominees were returned for the said borough, the said earl Grosvenor has, since the late election, given notices by his agent to many electors, being his tenants, who voted conscientiously against his nominees, to quit the respective tenements held under him, to the great injury of themselves and the town at large; namely, to those tenants who gave single votes to Francis Charles Knowles, esq., who was introduced as a candidate by a large and respectable body of the electors; to those who voted for E. Penrhyn and F. C. Knowles; to those who voted for E. Penrhyn alone; to one who conscientiously refused to take the bribery oath, having offered his vote for the said earl's nominees, but who acknowledged that he gave it from fear of being turned out of his house; and to those who abstained altogether from voting; and further, that these said tenants are not known to have violated any covenant or duty imposed by their agreements, and many of whom, having confidence in their landlord, have laid out large sums of money to improve the property held by them. It is therefore the opinion of this meeting, that the said earl Grovesnor, as a lord of parliament, as privy counsellor to the king, and in regard to the several other duties and services he owes to the state, has, in defiance thereof, grossly abused the powers, privileges, and pre-eminences reposed in him, shown a disregard to the king's express commands, and contemned the jealous privileges of the house of commons; and moreover that the conduct of the said earl is utterly subversive of the rights of the electors of this borough, an invasion of the principles by which the state is upheld, and an infringement of the liberties of the people of the united kingdom."

.....

Duncannon, viscount, (3, Cavendish Square) Kilkenny, *county, Ireland.*
First commissioner of woods and forests. This member is son to the earl of

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Besborough, and brother-in-law to lord Melbourne, the home secretary, and brother to major-general Ponsonby, governor of Malta, and the hon. W. Ponsonby, member for Poole. He is a liberal man, however, he nearly lost his last election, in consequence of his opposition to the repeal of the union. He has been, for many years, the manager and whiper-in of the opposition.

.....

Duncombe, hon. W. (23, Cavendish Square). Yorkshire, *county.* See Bethell, p. 164.
Son to lord Feversham.
This gentleman has deceived his friends. He is a high tory, and opposes the ministerial measure of reform. He will not, at all events, again sit for Yorkshire.

.....

Duncombe, T. S. (20, Queen Street, May Fair). Hertford, *city.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members, with various intermissions, since
A liberal member.

26, Edward I. The mayor is the returning officer, and the right of voting is in the freemen, and inhabitant householders, in number about 700. A correspondent of the Spectator bitterly complains of the effect of the boroughmongering system on the value of houses in this borough. The marquis of Salisbury, whose influence extends to the nomination of one member, has bought a considerable part of the town; other persons who seek to obtain parliamentary interest in the place, adopt the same course; and thus the value of houses is artificially raised, to the injury of the individuals seeking a domicile there. He adds, that the tenants feel bound to vote in the interest of the marquis, and that no one would take a house who did not intend to do so; also, that money is a necessary auxiliary, to sustain even the interest of the marquis of Salisbury, and that Mr. Duncombe, though much approved by his party, could not retain his interest without great expense of treating, &c. He has now about fifty houses in

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the borough, most of which he has built himself, to neutralize the influence of the marquis of Salisbury. This writer's account of the trickery, treating, &c. at the last election, makes out a strong case against the independence of the town; but it is a great deal too long for this abstract.

.....

Duncombe, hon. A. (24, Arlington Street). Another son of lord Feversham's, and brother to the member for Yorkshire. He is a captain in the navy; was returned by the duke of Newcastle, and votes against reform.

Bassetlaw, *Nottingham.* This is the substitute for East Retford, so famous in the last parliament. It is a wapentake, occupying the northern extremity of the county, and has about 35,000 inhabitants. It returns two members, and the right of voting is in the freeholders of the hundred, and the inhabitants of East Retford. It is under the influence of the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Manvers, and is nearly as corrupt as was East Retford.

.....

Dundas, C. (Manor House, Buckingham gate). Cousin to lord Dundas. He is now an old man, and does not often vote, but was always a friend to the people.

Berkshire, *county.* This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I.

.....

Dundas, hon. H. Eldest son of lord Melville, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army. His brother, Mr. R. Dundas, was deprived of a pension of 500l. a-year, in March, 1830, on the motion of sir R. Heron. He was returned at the last election, by the marquis of

Winchelsea, *Sussex.* This borough, though containing fewer than 1000 inhabitants, has returned two members since 11, Henry III. It is one of the cinque ports, and the right of election vests in the mayor, jurats, and freemen, about 30 in number, under the absolute control of

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Cleveland, as a compliment to lord Melville. Votes against reform.

the marquis of Cleveland, who paid 40,000*l.* for his influence.

.....

Dundas, sir R. L.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Sir R. L. is brother to lord Dundas, and a major-general in the army. He votes for retrenchment and reform. J. C. is son to lord Dundas, and votes liberally.

Richmond, *Yorkshire.* This borough, which has about 3,500 inhabitants, has returned two members since 27, Elizabeth. The right of voting is in about 270 burgage-holds belonging to lord Dundas, who, accordingly, nominates the members.

.....

Dundas, R. A. (97, Eaton Square). Son-in-law of lord Elgin, who receives military pay, and also a pension of 2,000l. from the East India company. He votes against reform and retrenchment, in any shape.

Ipswich, *Suffolk.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of election is in the corporation and freemen, in number about 1,100. Money returns the members.

.....

Dundas, right hon. W. (34, Lower Grosvenor St.). Cousin to viscount Melville, and lord clerk register, and keeper of the signet, Scotland. His sinecure is returned at 3,300l.; but it has been affirmed by Mr. Kennedy, in the house of commons, that it amounts to 6,300l. A further return has, therefore, been ordered.

Edinburgh, *city.* This is the only town in Scotland that sends a member to parliament. The right of election is in the corporation, of 33, persons, though the population amounts to 160,000. The corporation is under the influence of the duke of Buccleugh and Mr. Dundas.

This hon. member, is

resisting the necessity of parliamentary reform, at the commencement of the present session, declared that the great majority of the people of Scotland were well satisfied with the present constitution of the house, and did not wish for any change! To this notable declaration may, in some degree, be attributed the numerous and respectably signed petitions from that country, praying for reform.

.....

Dundas, hon. T. Son to lord Dundas. He has always voted for retrenchment and reform.

York, *city.* See Bayntun, p. 151.

.....

East, sir E. H. (12, Stratford Place). A retired chief justice of Calcutta, and a West India proprietor. He votes against reform of every description.

Winchester, *Hants.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward 1. The right of election vests in the corporation—34 persons, under the influence of the duke of Buckingham and lady Mildmay.

.....

Eastnor, viscount, (3, St. James' Square). Son to lord Somers, and son-in-law to lord Hardwick. He votes against retrenchment and reform.

Hereford. See Clive, p. 216.

.....

Ebrington, viscount, (17, Grosvenor Square). Eldest son of lord Fortescue, and son-in-law to lord Harrowby. He is a liberal whig, a reformer, and a man of high integrity.

Devonshire. See Ackland, p. 118.

.....

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Egerton, W. (7, St. James' Square). A relation to the Bridgewater family, is a regular tory, and votes against reform and retrenchment.

Cheshire. See Belgrave, p. 156.

.....

Egerton, sir P. G. Rector of Tarporley; has one brother in the church, and two in the army. He is a high bred tory, and voted against inquiry into the civil list, and lord John Russell's reform bill.

Chester, *city*. The elective franchise, conferred by 23, Edward I., for two members, is vested in the freemen, in number about 1000. Earl Grosvenor's interest, which, it is said, cost him 370,000*l*, preponderates.

.....

Egerton, W. T. A new member. He purchased his seat of the Burrard's, and voted against sir H. Parnell's motion, and lord Russell's bill.

Lymington. See Burrard, p. 196.

.....

Eliott, lord, (47, Dover Street). Son to the earl of St. Germains, and brother-in-law to lord Cornwallis. (see Peep, for both). *He votes against reform and retrenchment of every kind.*

Liskeard, *Cornwall*. This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., the right of voting being in the corporation and free burgesses, in number about 100, under the control of earl St. Germain.

.....

Ellice, E. (41, Upper Grosvenor Street). Brother-in-law to earl Grey, and a Canada proprietor. He is secretary of the treasury, and votes for reform.

Coventry, *Warwickshire*. This city returns two members to parliament. The elective franchise, conferred by 23, Edward I., is vested in such freemen as have served 7 years' apprenticeship to one trade, in the city or suburbs,

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and who do not receive alms or weekly charity. The sheriffs are the returning officers, and the number of voters is about 2,600. The influence of the corporation secures one member, and money, the other. Great corruption prevails in the city, and an election usually costs the candidates several thousands of pounds. The inhabitants have presented a petition, numerously signed, in favour of the cabinet measure of reform.

.....

Ellis, hon. G. J. W. A. (8, Spring Gardens). Son to viscount Clifden, and son-in-law to lord Carlile. He votes for reform.

Oakhampton, *Devonshire.* This borough has returned two members since 28, Edward I. with some interruptions. The right of voting is in the freeholders and freemen, about 250, in number, who are accessible to the power of gold, the seats being regularly sold.

.....

Encombe, viscount, (109, Piccadilly). Grandson to lord Eldon, and nephew to W. H. J. Scott, who fills several offices in the court of chancery. He, like his grandfather, opposes the advance of civil and religious liberty.

Truro, *Cornwall.* This borough has sent two members since the 23, Edward I.; was discontinued in the 17, Edward IV., and restored 1, Edward VI. Like many other places, it has had its rights usurped by a small and self-elected body, who have sold their acquisition to the all-grasping aristocracy. The charter conferred upon the borough by Elizabeth, distinctly gives the right of election to the burgesses at large, and only in the event of neglect on their part to perform that duty, authorises the smaller body, exclusively, to elect. No usage or custom can constitutionally prevail against this primary right, the tenor of the charter distinctly renewing the privilege on occasion of every new parliament, by these express words:—"When, and as often as a new parlia-

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ment shall be assembled, the said mayor and burgesses, *or else* the common council, shall elect," &c. thus extending the elective franchise to a larger but equally respectable class of inhabitant householders. Notwithstanding the obvious meaning of the charter, however, as well as the ascertained previously existing right of the burgesses at large, the corporation, consisting of only 26 individuals, under the control of the earl of Falmouth, have, for many years, assumed to themselves the right of returning the members, without the interference of the freemen at large. At the last election lord Encombe and Mr. Peach were the earl of Falmouth's nominees, and Mr. Tooke and sir J. W. Lubbock the popular candidates. The mayor, however, refused to admit the votes of the burgesses, and the consequence was, that the corporation members were returned.

Two petitions were presented to the house: one from the rejected candidates, the other from the burgesses, in both of which their right to assist in the election was urged, and the determination of the question was looked for with considerable interest. Sir Edward Knatchbull was chairman of the committee, and Mr. Adam counsel for the petitioners. The learned gentleman urged, that the supposed final determination of 1689, on which the corporation relied, whereby the right of voting was declared to be in a select number of burgesses only, could not be held to deprive the inhabitant householders, rated, and paying scot and lot, of their elective franchise. The dispute appeared, at that time, from the journals, to have been between the select, or the 24 capital burgesses, and the populacy—a very different body in common parlance, and in legal construction, from scot and lot housekeepers. The learned counsel therefore urged, that the claim of the latter had never been determined, and ought not to be affected by any decision as between other parties. The committee, however, were of a different opinion, and declared the sitting members to be duly elected! It is understood that in this

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decision, the numbers were equal, being 5 to 5, and the question, was, therefore, decided only by the chairman's voice. The general impression was so strong in the house, and among lawyers, of the conclusive nature of the arguments urged against the right of the select body, that the petitioners would have been advised to appeal, but that the forthcoming reform bill would, it was anticipated, give them all the benefit they sought, without it. By the present atrocious system, the householders of this populous and opulent town are deprived of a voice in the election of those who ought to represent them in the commons' house, but who really represent a peer, on the election of 24 of his lordship's friends and dependents. The capital burgesses comprise among their number, lord Exmouth, admiral Devonshire, half a dozen clergymen, and as many lawyers; most of them non-resident, and having no common interest with the inhabitants. Their time has now come, however; right and justice will speedily triumph over chicanery and oppression. Mr. Tooke is sure of his return at the next election.

.....

Estcourt, T. H. S. B. Son to the member for Oxford, and, like him, voting against civil and religious liberty in every form.

Marlborough. See Bankes, p. 147.

.....

Estcourt, T. G. B. A barrister, and a member selected, as well as his colleague, for his antipathy to every thing just and liberal. He votes therefore against all reform.

Oxford University. This University has returned two members since 1, James I. The right of election, as at Cambridge, is in the doctors and masters of arts, in number about 1,000. The returning officers are the vice chancellor, and heads of colleges. This is the most intolerant body in the kingdom.

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Euston, earl of, (7, Grosvenor Place). Son to the duke of Grafton, (see Peep.) *and brother to lord Fitzroy, member for Thetford. He has voted for some trifling reform, but opposes lord John Russell's bill.*

Bury St. Edmonds, *Suffolk.* The elective franchise, for two members, in this borough, is by 4, James I. in a corporation of 37 members, of which the alderman is the returning officer. The duke of Grafton has the power of returning his eldest son, and the marquis of Bristol his also.

.....

Evans, W. (42, Grosvenor Place). This is the popular candidate—a manufacturer at Derby, and a banker, we believe. He was returned at the last election in the room of Mr. Otway Cave, who had previously resigned. He voted for inquiry into the civil list, and is a reformer.

Leicester, *city.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. One member is popularly returned; but the corporation have, at a vast expense, secured the nomination of the other. The expense of an election to a popular candidate, however, is ruinous. The last contest cost Mr. O. Cave 14,000*l.* and Mr. Evans, 20,000*l.*

.....

Ewart, W. (16, Eaton Place). A new member, and a barrister, who was returned in opposition to Mr. Denison. He has voted in favour of reform.

While this sheet was passing through the press, Mr. Ewart was unseated. The committee declared

Liverpool. This is a corporate town, of the first class, and returned two members in 23, Edward I., and the 35th of the same reign, from which time it was discontinued till 1, Edward VI. The right of election is in the freemen at large, not receiving alms. One member is returned by the influence of the

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"that gross bribery and corruption prevailed at the last election for Liverpool." It is said, that the attorney general will be instructed to prosecute those who were engaged in bribing the electors; and the house has suspended the issuing of a new writ.

corporation, and the other by the influence of money. The corruption at the last election, by which this member carried his return, was of the most flagrant description. Persons were stopped in the streets and bargained with for their votes, at from 15*l.* to 40*l.*; and at the close of the poll, even 100*l.* were given! During the election, no fewer than ten persons were sent to the lunatic hospital from drunkenness, without hope of recovery! This election furnished one of the most powerful arguments for the ballot that has recently occurred.

.....

Ewing, J. (18, *Park Crescent*). *This member purchased his seat of Mr. Calcraft, and voted against reform.*

Wareham. See Calcraft, p. 199.

.....

Fane, J. T.

Fane, H. S.

The former is cousin to the earl of Westmoreland, and also to lord Burghersh, (envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Florence, 3,900l.), and is himself a lieutenant colonel, and clerk to the privy seal. The latter is son to the earl of Westmoreland, and a lieutenant colonel in the army. They seldom attend, and vote against the people.

Lyme Regis, *Dorsetshire*, This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The elective franchise, however, is monopolized by the corporation and freemen, of whom not more than 8 or 10 reside in the town, and even those are all devoted to the earl of Westmoreland, who is the recorder of the borough, and fills the custom house there with his dependents.

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Fane J. Nephew to the earl of Macclesfield, and a heavy country squire, who knows more of the hounds than of legislation. He has voted against even moderate reform, but now supports the great measure!

Oxfordshire. This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I.

.....

Fane, sir H. A lieutenant general in the army, a colonel of dragoons, and late surveyor general of the ordnance. He is a follower of the duke of Wellington, and, of course, votes against all reform.

Hastings, *Sussex*. This is one of the cinque ports, and has returned two members since 42, Edward III. In this borough, as in Rye, the mayor and jurats have been made subservient to the treasury, which has for several years had the nomination of the members. In consequence of the decision of the house of commons, last year, in the case of Rye, however*, it was determined by the inhabitants, at the last general election to make an attempt to recover the general right of election which they once possessed, and which they insist they are still entitled to. In consequence of this determination, Mr. Otway Cave, and Mr. John Ashley Warre, canvassed the town and offered, if they should be returned by a majority of those who claim to have a right to vote, to endeavour to establish their right by petition to parliament. The last decision of a committee of the house declared the right of election to be in the mayor, jurats, and freemen, resident in the town. The mayor and corporation, consisting of about 25 persons, interpret that decision to mean, freemen admitted at their pleasure; and, as might be expected, they never admit but those whose opinions, in matters relating to the election, concur with their own: and such as are paupers, or likely to become such, that

* See page 137.

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there may be no danger of their exercising the power thus conferred npon them. The inhabitants, on the other hand, contend that the word "freemen" is to be governed by the meaning affixed to the same word in the charters of the cinque ports, and that consequently every man born and resident in the town, and paying scot and lot, becomes entitled to the privileges granted by the charter, of which admission to the freedom of the town is one, and the right to vote at elections, another. Various formal demands have been from time to time made for their admission to the corporation, which the mayor and jurats have always rejected, and the late election presented the first opportunity that has occurred, since the question has been started, for trying these claims. At the common hall, convened for the purpose of returning members, Mr. Planta and general sir Harry Fane were proposed and seconded by the jurats of the corporation; and Robert Otway Cave, and John Ashley Warre, esquires, were nominated by some of the persons who had claimed to be admitted. The mayor refusing to accept these nominations, on the ground of the persons by whom they were made not being freemen, the candidates proposed themselves. The polling then commenced, but the mayor refused to admit the votes tendered for Mr. Cave and Mr. Warre. Subsequently in the day, Mr. Sergeant Taddy was nominated by the popular party, that he might join in the petition, which it was resolved to present to the house, in the event of Mr. Cave being returned for another place. The votes offered for him, however, were rejected also. At three o'clock the numbers of votes tendered and polled were ascertained, and appeared to be—

For Mr. Warre	174
Mr. Cave	157
Mr. Sergeant Taddy	54
General Fane	17
Mr. Planta	17

The mayor declared he should take no notice of the votes

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tendered by persons whose claims he had rejected, and declared general Fane and Mr. Planta duly elected. The hopes that were entertained of succeeding against the select body, upon appeal to the house of commons, were destroyed by the subsequent decision upon the case of Rye, and nothing but the success of the general reform measure will deliver the inhabitants of this and other places from the domination to which they have been so unconstitutionally subjected.

.....

FARRAND, R. *(3, Park Street, Westminster). A new member. He voted for sir H. Parnell's motion, but against the ministerial plan of reform.*

HEDON. See CONSTABLE. p. 222.

.....

FARDELL, J. (119, Pall Mall). A new member. He voted for sir H. Parnell's motion, but against reform. He is brother to the son in-law of the bishop of Ely, who holds so many pluralities.

LINCOLN, *city.* This city is a county in itself, and has returned two members since 49, Henry III. The right of election is in the freemen, of whom so many are non-resident, that a contested election costs each candidate from 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.*

.....

FAZARKERLEY, J. N. *Votes well. He is a whig, and a friend to reform.*

PETERBOROUGH, *Northampton.* This city has returned two members since 1, Edward IV. The elective franchise being vested in the inhabitants within the precincts of the minster, being householders, not receiving alms; and in the other inhabitants within the city paying scot and lot: in number about 470. Earl Fitzwilliam, the present lord lieutenant of the liberty, possesses the parliamentary patronage of this city, which he commands with as much ease as that of his burgage tenures

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at Malton, and his corporation at Higham Ferrars. When lord Milton resigned, at the last general election, he intimated to the electors of Peterborough that he should not interfere in the election. For this consideration, these gentlemen returned their grateful acknowledgements, but begged his lordship to *assist their judgment!* Lord Milton then recommended Mr. Farzarkerley.

.....

FERGUSON, *sir* R. C. *(5, Bolton Row). A general and a colonel. He has a son, who is a major, and a nephew who is a lieutenant colonel, with a company of grenadier guards. He votes, however, for retrenchment, and the ministerial plan of reform.*

NOTTINGHAM, See DENMAN, p. 231.

.....

FERGUSON, R. C. *(17, Great Cumberland Street). A barrister. He voted for the marquis of Blandford and lord John Russell's reform bills: "does not object to* all *kinds of reform," but is very jealous of abridging the power of "the landed interest." Before going out to India, where he amassed a large fortune, this member was a distinguished radical. He was confined in the king's bench, for assisting in his friend O'Conner's escape from Maidstone. His politics are, however, no longer understood.*

KIRKCUDBRIGHT, *Scotland.* This stewartry returns one member.

.....

FITZGERALD, *lord* W. *Brother to the duke of Leinster, and nephew to lord R. Fitzgerald, who has a pension of 2,325l. This member's two sisters also have pensions. He very seldom attends, but has voted for reform.*

KILDARE, *county. Ireland.* This county comprises nearly 212,000 acres, one third of which belong to the duke of Leinster, who has the power, generally, of returning one member.

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FITZGERALD, J. *Seldom attends. He is a borough patron, and votes against reform.*

SEAFORD, *Sussex.* The right of election, conferred by 26, Edward I., is in the inhabitant housekeepers, paying scot and lot, in number about 100. There have been many appeals to the house of commons from this borough, but, notwithstanding these expensive litigations, it is now as much under the influence of lord Seaford, and Mr. Fitzgerald, one of the sitting members, as any close borough is under that of its proprietor.

.....

FITZGERALD, hon. M. (3, *Devonshire Terrace*). *Late vice-treasurer of Ireland. An anti-reformer.*

KERRY, *county. Ireland.* See hon. W. BROWN, p. 184.

.....

FITZGIBBON, *hon.* R. (44, *Belgrave Square*). *Brother to the earl of Clare, and registrar of affidavits in the court of chancery, Ireland. His mother, lady Clare, has a pension of 780l. 2s. He is, notwithstanding, a liberal member, and voted for the ministerial reform.*

LIMERICK, *county, Ireland,*

.....

FITZROY, *lord* J. (47, *Clarges Street.*) *Half-brother to the duke of Grafton* (see Peep). *He seldom votes, but did so in favor of sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list, and on lord John Russell's reform bill.*

THETFORD. See BARING, p. 149.

.....

FLEMING, J. (169, *New Bond Street*). *He votes against retrenchment and reform. He would have lost his seat at the last election, had he been opposed.*

HAMPSHIRE. This county, which returns two members, is, to a considerable extent, under the influence of the government, in consequence of its numerous ports, and the

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He must not be again returned.

dock yard at Portsmouth.

.....

FOLEY, J. H. H. *Cousin to lord Foley, who is captain of the band of pensioners. He voted in favour of the ministerial measure of reform.*

DROITWICH, *Worcestershire.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I., but ceased from 4, Edward II. to 2, Mary. The right of election having been determined to be in the corporation, consisting of only 12 members, that select body is, again, under the influence of a patron, lord Foley, by the members of whose family the borough has been represented, since the restoration of Charles II.

.....

FOLEY, E. T. *(23, Charles Street, Berkley Square). Another cousin of lord Foley, and brother to the preceding member. He is an illiberal man, and voted against the ministerial plan of reform.*

LUDGERSHALL, *Wilts.* This borough sent two members to parliament in 23, Edward I. but intermitted to 9, Henry V. It is an ancient borough by prescription, and the right of election has been determined to be in such persons as have any estate of inheritance, freehold or leasehold, determinable upon life or lives, within the borough. The property belongs to sir J. S. Graham, one of its present representatives, and Mr. Everett, who nominates Mr. Foley. Most of the houses have fallen into ruin; but a *door-way* gives the right of voting!

.....

FOLEY, *hon.* T. H. *Son to lord Foley, and nephew to the duke of Leinster. He voted for lord John Russell's reform bill.*

WORCESTER, *county.* This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I. The predominant influence is in lords Foley, Co-

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ventry, and Beauchamp, who have nominated the members for the last twelve parliaments.

.....

FOLKES, *sir* W. H. B. *This member has voted in favor of the reform bill; also for inquiry into the civil list.*

NORFOLK. See COKE, p. 217.

.....

FORBES, *viscount. Son to lord Granard, and a major general in the army. Votes against reform.*

LONGFORD, *county, Ireland.* This county returns two members, in the election of whom lady Ross has great influence.

.....

FORBES, *sir C. (3, and 9, Fitzroy Square).*

FORBES, J. *(15, Harley Street).*

Sir C. Forbes is an East India proprietor; the other is an East India director. They both pay for their seats, and vote against reform.

MALMESBURY, *Wilts.* The right of election in this corporate borough, which has returned two members since 23, Edward I., has been determined by the house of commons to be in the corporation, consisting of 13 persons, under the influence of Mr. Pitt, formerly an attorney at Cirencester, but now member for Cricklade.

.....

FORDWICH, *lord. Son of earl Cowper, and a lieutenant in the army. He voted in favour of the civil list and reform, and is a decidedly liberal man.*

CANTERBURY, *Kent.* The right of election for two members, acquired by 23, Edward I., is vested in the freemen at large, amounting to about 1600. This borough, though the seat of the archiepiscopal residence, is not less corrupt than other corrupt

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boroughs. The Spectator states that the last election cost the candidates 4000*l.* or 5000*l.* a-piece. After the election, a guinea was given to each voter who chose to accept it.

.....

FORESTER, *hon.* G. C. W. *Brother to lord Forester, and an officer in the horse guards. He votes against financial and parliamentary reform.*

WENLOCK, *Shropshire.* This is a corporate borough, and the first that returned members by virtue of a charter from the crown, which was granted by Edward IV. The right of election is in the burgesses at large, in number about 110, under the influence of lord Forester.

.....

FORTESCUE, *hon.* G. M. *(15, Devonshire Place). Son to earl Fortescue, and brother to lord Ebrington. He is a liberal member, and has voted for the ministerial measure of reform.*

HINDON, *Wilts.* This is a borough containing fewer than 1000 inhabitants, but returning two members, since 27, Henry VI. The right of election is in the bailiff, and inhabitants paying scot and lot, to the number of 240. The elections have, for many years, been carried by the most flagrant bribery and corruption. Lord Calthorpe, who is lord of the manor, and lord Grosvenor, divide the representation between them, each nominating one member.

.....

FRANKLAND, R. *(15, Cavendish Square). Son-in-law to the bishop of St. David's, and nephew to the duke of Athol. He seldom votes, but appears in the majority on sir H. Parnell's motion.*

THIRSK, *York.* This is a decayed borough, and returned two members in 23, Edward I., but intermitted till the last parliament of Edward VI. The right of election is in 60 burgageholds, about 50 of which belong to sir T. Frankland, who

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returns both the members, by conveying the burgage-holds to his friends and dependents for the day of election.

.....

FREEMANTLE, *sir* T. F. *A baron of the Austrian empire, son-in-law to general sir George Nugent, and a near relation to the duke of Buckingham. He has several relations on the pension list, and votes, accordingly, against reform of every description.*

BUCKINGHAM. This city returned two members in the 11, Edward I., but intermitted till 36, Henry VIII. The right of election is monopolized by the bailiff and burgesses, 13 in number, who are the dependents of the duke of Buckingham, the only real elector. The inhabitants, generally, have petitioned in favour of the reform bill, and complaining of their own degradation.

.....

FRENCH, A. *A relation to lord Gosford. He seldom attends, and we cannot find his vote on either side of any question of importance. What right has such a man to sit in the house?*

ROSCOMMON, *county, Ireland.*

.....

FRESHFIELD, J. W. (9, *Upper Wimpole Street). Solicitor to the bank. He opposes the reform bill, and is a great stickler for maintaining public credit;* i. e. *robbing the many to enrich the few.*

PENRYN, *Cornwall.* This borough, which has been deprived of its charter by the illegal acts of its corporation, has returned two members since 6, Edward VI., the right of election being in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, in number about 140. The bribery and corruption by which the elections in this borough have been carried on are too notorious to need enlargement here. The usual mode was to give to each voter 25*l.* on the morning of election, which sum was called

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"a breakfast"! Mr. Freshfield, however, affirms that it is now as pure and independent as any place in the country. *Credat Judæus!*

.....

FYLER, T. B. (19, *Dover Street*). *A captain in the army. He has spoken well on the game laws, and voted in favour of reform. He voted also for sir H. Parnell's motion, but against abolishing the office of lieutenant general of the ordnance, and reducing the expense of the South American ambassadors.*

COVENTRY. See ELLICE, p. 244.

.....

GARLIES, *viscount*, (15, *Hill Street*). *Eldest son of the earl of Galloway, brother-in-law to Mr. Duncombe, member for Yorkshire, nephew to the hon. J. R. Stewart, assistant secretary to the treasury, at* 2,500*l.*, *and also to the bishop of Quebec, at* 2,400*l. He votes for lord John Russell's bill of reform.*

COCKERMOUTH. See BOUVERIE, p. 180.

.....

GASCOYNE, *general*, (74, *South Audley Street*). *A colonel of a regiment, with* 1,400*l. a-year. He has attended badly—voted against the catholics, and against abolishing the office of lieutenant of the ordnance: he is a disciple of the Pitt school, and an enemy to reform.*

LIVERPOOL. See EWART, p. 248.

.....

GILBERT, D. G. (45, *Bridge Street, Westminster*). *A barrister, and a voter against reform and retrenchment. He brought*

BODMIN, *Cornwall.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., the right of election being in the mayor, who is returning

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in the sinecure pension bill, in 1817.

officer, eleven aldermen, and twenty-four burgesses. The nomination is divided between Mr. Gilbert and the marquis of Hertford, who is vice-admiral of the duchy.

.....

GISBORNE. T. *This gentleman supports the reform bill; but declares himself opposed to the ballot.*

STAFFORD. See CAMPBELL, p. 205.

.....

GLADSTONE, T. (6, *Albany*). *A merchant, and a new member. He voted for lord John Russell's reform bill, in opposition to his colleague and protector, Mr. Capel.*

QUEENBOROUGH. See CAPEL, p. 205.

.....

GORDON, R. *A West India proprietor, and a liberal member; he votes for reform, and supports retrenchment. He is one of the most useful members in the house, and is to be found in all the honourable minorities, in favour of the people.*

CRICKLADE, *Wilts.* This is a borough by prescription, having sent members to parliament ever since the twenty-third year of Edward I. The right of election was formerly vested in the freeholders and copyholders of the borough lands, and leaseholders for any term not less than three years; but these electors having been convicted of bribery and corruption, on an inquiry before the house of commons, after a contested election in 1780, they were deprived of their exclusive franchise, and the right of voting was extended to the freeholders of the hundreds of Malmesbury, Highworth, Cricklade, Ryple, and Kingsbridge, in conjunction with the former electors—in all, about 1200. The bailiff, chosen at the court leet, is the returning officer. Mr. Pitt, formerly an attorney at Cirencester, purchased the freeholds, copyholds, and leaseholds, in

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the borough, from the earl of Carnarvon, by which means he returns himself, as one of the members, to parliament.

.....

GORDON, *hon.* W. *(15, Savill Street). Brother to the earl of Aberdeen, and a captain in the navy. He seldom attends, but when he does, it is to vote against reform and retrenchment.*

ABERDEEN, *county, Scotland.* The chief proprietors are the duke of Grafton and the earl of Fife, who possess great influence in the elections.

.....

GORDON, J. *An East India and West India proprietor. He votes against reform.*

WEYMOUTH and MELCOMBE REGIS. See BUXTON, p. 198.

.....

GORDON, *sir* J. W. *(50, Devonshire Street). Cousin to the duke of Northumberland, and a relation of the earl of Winchelsea's. He is a general in the army, a colonel, and a quarter-master general—somewhere about* 3,000*l. He votes against even "moderate reform."*

LAUNCESTON. See BROGDEN, p. 182.

.....

GORDON, J. A. *(29, Hill Street). A West India proprietor, and a voter against financial and parliamentary reform. He purchased, from the marquises of Cleveland and Hereford, not long since, the borough for which he sits.*

TREGONY, *Cornwall.* The right of election in this borough, which has returned two members since 23, Edward I., is in the corporation, in number nearly 200. A petition was presented against the return of the sitting members, containing a specific charge of bribery. It states that a person who was an utter stranger in the borough, and therefore went by the appellation of "Mr. Nobody," but

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who was in reality one of the agents for Mr. Gordon and Mr. Mackillop, the sitting members, drove into the borough, shortly before the election, in an open vehicle, with a box, bag, or parcel containing money, crowns and half-crowns, amounting to a considerable sum, and proceeded to the house of Nicholas Middlecoat, a notorious general borough-agent, and an elector. The petition states that Middlecoat was one of the agents in the interest and employ of the sitting members, and that he distributed the money among the electors, retaining a portion of the fees for himself. The petition, however, was dismissed.

.....

GORE, W. O. *A gentleman of the privy chamber in the king's household, and a major in the army. He is a new member, and voted against the reform bill.*

CARNARVON, *burgh, Wales.* The elective franchise, for one member, conferred 27, Henry VIII. vests in the burgesses of Carnarvon, Criccieth, Pwleely, and Conway, amounting to about 800 votes.

.....

GOULBURN, *right hon.* H. *Cousin to viscount Chetwynd, brother to one of the late Welsh judges, and to a major in the army; brother-in-law to Mr. G. Bowles (who, with his wife receives a pension) and is the never-to-be-forgotten ex-chancellor of the exchequer. He was a worthy member of an anti-reform government, and immortalised himself as a financial minister!*

ARMAGH, *borough, Ireland.* This borough is under the influence of the primate of Ireland, for the time being. A more disgusting spectacle never has been witnessed, any thing so preposterously absurd, never entered into the imagination of a man possessing the smallest possible quantity of brains, as that of the last election. By the spirit of the immortal Cartwright but it was too, too ridiculous! Such a piece of political tomfoolery as the

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entire farce was never before enacted in the presence of a sane audience. Tell it not in Gath, whisper it not in the streets of Ascalon: eight dignified clergymen of the established church were so utterly debased, so perfectly disregardless of character, as to elect the duke's fugleman as their representative! However strange and incomprehensible it may appear, on our honour, we believe that every man amongst them was sober at the time—our readers will please to recollect that the election took place before dinner. We are only doing the unfortunate men justice, when we assure the public, that they appeared heartily ashamed of the entire proceedings: there was a sheepish idiotic expression on every countenance, from the sovereign down to the town-sergeant, that proved beyond all controversy, they felt bitterly the degradation to which they were subjected. And, verily, there is little marvel they should. The same individuals, who, a few years ago, were haranguing the Brunswickers, and almost instigating them to open rebellion, in case catholic emancipation should be granted, were now assembled to elect as their representative a man who had "ratted" from their cause, without either common sense to conceive, or common ability to assign a sufficient reason for doing so! The inhabitants, on hearing that Mr. Goulburn was the person to be returned for the city, immediately addressed a letter to the only two freemen, Leonard Dobbin and William M'Williams, Esqs. requiring them "to use their utmost influence with the primate and the burgesses, to prevent their being disgraced in the eyes of the nation, by having for their representative a man whom they universally despised—a man who so lately proposed forcing on them taxes revolting to every principle of freedom and even legislation." This letter was signed by seventy-seven of the most respectable inhabitants, in the course of an hour. Mr. Dobbin and Mr. M'Williams in their reply, stated their regret that the application had not been thought of sooner, when it might have met with success; but said they felt

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it would be useless to make any now, as they were satisfied the primate had made up his mind on the subject.

The hour of election having come, the mace-bearer read the proclamation three times; and the registrar having read the writ, and sworn the sovereign to make a true return, the right reverend the dean of Tuam rose, and in an under tone said, I propose the right honourable Henry Goulburn as a fit and proper person to represent the borough of Armagh. The rev. John Cleland seconded the proposal, whereupon his worship the sovereign declared the aforesaid Henry Goulburn duly elected!

It would be impossible to describe the uproar which followed this announcement; hissing, yelling, and cries of "no Goulburn, no Goulburn," "no additional taxes—the liberty of the press for ever," were the mildest terms in which the spirited inhabitants gave expression to their feelings. The threats of the minister, and the entreaties of the sovereign were totally unavailing, as the inhabitants continued throughout the entire ceremony to exercise the use of their voices in no very musical manner. When it came to the doctor's turn to sign the return, the people indulged in the innocent revenge of a hearty laugh at his expense. He "looked unutterable things." he looked as if

——"He could at one fell swoop
Have sent them all to deep damnation."

When the burgesses were about to leave the room, one of the democrats requested three cheers for "the French revolution;" we need scarcely say that they were heartily given. The manifestation of public feeling which it elicited, was a wholesome but disagreeable lesson to the pompous churchmen; let them "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest it."

When the time for the chairing came—the right honourable Henry Goulburn being "non est inventus," it was considered advisable to chair him by proxy. Every man, woman, and child, in Armagh, having declined the honour of epresenting the person of that right honourable gentleman,

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his friends were obliged to stuff a berigan jacket and trowsers as a substitute. His air was superbly aristocratic, but at the same time perfectly *degagé*—his hat had rather a rakish set, his coat quite a Bond Street cut; and his inexpressibles, oh! ye bucks and leaders of *ton*, had ye but caught a glimpse of them—they were a study for Brummel! To complete the whole, and render more striking the likeness of the creature to what he really is, a political Janus, he was furnished with two faces, one of which had as pretty a squint as the original. "He bore his blushing honours thick upon him." On his breast was hung a placard, with the following inscription:—

GOULBURN,
MEMBER FOR ARMAGH,
THE DUKE'S PARASITE, AND
INVADER OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

On his back:—

GOULBURN,
MEMBER FOR ARMAGH,
A FRIEND TO TAXATION, AND AN ENEMY TO THE
LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The chair was neatly and appropriately decorated,—our readers may imagine with what, when we inform them that he was drawn through the principal streets of the town in a dung-cart.

The friends and followers of the honourable member having understood that the burgesses were to receive the amount of their hire from the primate in the evening, in the shape of a dinner, determined to escort the insensible representative to the palace, but his grace refused him admittance; whereupon the devotion of his admirers was turned into hatred, and they forthwith determined to sacrifice him.—Poor man! he murdered his own character—the inclination was strong in many to murder his person. He was strung to a lamp-iron opposite the market-house, and after

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hanging nearly fifteen minutes, his body was cut down, and given to the mob for dissection !

A petition was presented against Mr. Goulburn's return, alleging that he was never a resident inhabitant nor a burgess of Armagh, and that he was therefore ineligible, not only by the charter, but by statute 10, Henry VII. which renders seven years residency or servitude, within the precincts of a corporate town, a requisite qualification. Another petition from the inhabitants of Armagh states, that by the charter, the municipal body should consist of twelve burgesses, and a sovereign, each sovereign to be annually elected; that the present sovereign had *reigned* ten years, and therefore nullified all the acts done since the first year of his reign; that instead of burgesses chosen by the inhabitants, ten clergymen, dependents on the primate, and mostly non-resident, usurp the constituency of that body; and that, at the last election, Mr. Goulburn was proposed by a non-resident parson, and, at the command of the primate, seconded and returned by this *irregular* monarch. It likewise asserts, that Mr. Goulburn actually never was in Armagh! The petitions have, however, been abandoned, from despair of recovering the rights the petitioners sought, as well as from the dread of the great expense that would be entailed upon them. .....

GOWER, *lord* F. L. *Son to the marquis of Stafford, and secretary for Ireland, and secretary at war, under the Wellington administration. He is an imbecile and illiberal man, voting against every species of reform.*

SUTHERLAND, *county, Scotland.* The number of voters in this shire does not exceed 80. The countess of Sutherland is the patroness.

.....

GRAHAM, *marquis of, (47, Albermarle Street). Son to the duke of Montrose* (see Peep), *a privy*

CAMBRIDGE, *borough.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., the right of voting being

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councillor, a colonel of the Stirling militia, and late commissioner for the affairs of India. He is also related, by marriage, to the earls of Winchilsea and Powis; he votes against retrenchment and reform.

vested in the mayor, bailiffs, and freemen, not receiving alms, about 250, under the influence of the duke of Rutland, who is recorder of the borough.

.....

GRAHAM, *sir* J. *Cousin to the earl of Galloway, and first lord of the admiralty, 5000l. He is a liberal man, and has done much to serve his country.*

CUMBERLAND, *county.* This county has returned two members since 28, Edward I. The earl of Lonsdale has the power of returning one member, and the duke of Portland, generally, the other.

.....

GRAHAM, *sir* S. (1, *Portland Place*). *A distant relation to sir James Graham. He voted for sir H. Parnell's motion, and supports the reform bill, though it deprives him of his borough property, for which his father paid a large sum of money. He will, no doubt, get a peerage in return.*

LUDGERSHALL. See FOLEY, p. 255.

.....

GRAHAM, *lord* W. *Son to the duke of Montrose, and brother to the member for Cambridge, with whom he votes.*

DUNBARTON, *county, Scotland.* There are about 30 voters, only, in this county. The member is the nominee of his father.

.....

GRANT, C. *President of the board of control, and a very liberal and excellent man.*

INVERNESS, *county, Scotland.* There are about 22 voters in this county. At the last election the existing ministry made a desperate effort to oust Mr. C. Grant; but they were unsuccessful.

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GRANT, *hon.* F. W. *Brother to the earl of Seafield, and a colonel in the army. He seldom attends, but votes against reform and retrenchment.* ELGIN, *county, Scotland.* About 23 real voters; the earl of Fife has great influence.

.....

GRANT, *sir* A. (1, *Carlton Gardens). Chairman of ways and means committee in house of commons, and a West India proprietor. He votes against all kinds of reform.* WESTBURY, *Wilts.* The right of election in this borough, conferred 27, Edward III. is in tenants or possessors of about seventy burgage holders, the mayor being the returning officer. The selling of the seats here has for many years been notorious. The account given of Westbury by colonel Jones is very curious. It belonged formerly, it seems, to the late earl of Abingdon; who being greatly embarrassed, was obliged to dispose of this, and other property in Wiltshire. It was offered to sir M. Lopez, but he declined the purchase. The estate was therefore sold off in parcels, and produced more than the sum originally asked for the whole, leaving the borough, with a very small quantity of land on hand. It so happened, that lord Abingdon's man of business, was also sir Mannasseh's, and he urged the purchase of it upon the baronet, for some 30,000*l.* This purchase gave him his baronetcy, and in Mr. Pitt's time his borough dealing gave him the prospect of a peerage. Fortune, however, failed him, and some untoward disclosures ended in his being fined and imprisoned in the king's bench! Sir Mannasseh has been his own representative—or he has made his nephew so—or some rich banker—or some creature of the minister—or a minister himself, in untoward circumstances. Westbury returns two members.

.....

GRANT, Robert. (2, *Poets' Corner). Judge advocate,* NORWICH, *city, Norfolk.* This city has returned two

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brother to the member for Inverness, and an exemplary member. When he presented himself to the electors of Norwich, he declared his political tenets to consist in a wise course of retrenchment; a detestation of jobs; to be favourable to the adoption of judicious and effectual measures for the practical correction of every abuse, members since 23, Edward I. The right of election is in the freeholders, and such registered freemen, as do not receive alms, or charity: in number about 3000. At the last general election, the electors nobly asserted their independence, in returning the present members, against the powerful influence and exertions of the Peel faction.

including such as prevail in the election of the representatives of the people, in the maintenance of a liberal and tolerant system of administration at home, and an energetic and liberal policy abroad. His conduct has harmonized with his declarations.

.....

GRATTAN, J. *A liberal member. He votes for all popular measures.*

WICKLOW, *county, Ireland.* Earls Wicklow and Fitzwilliam have great influence in this county.

.....

GREEN, T. *(7, Langham Place). A barrister. He voted for members being given to Manchester; but opposes "a sweeping reform."*

LANCASTER, *city.* This city has returned two members since 26, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of election vests in the freemen at large, in number about 1,700. Money is the patron, and returns the members!

.....

GRESLEY, *sir* R. *(29, Hertford Street). Son-in-law to the earl of Coventry. He is a rank tory, and*

DURHAM, *city.* This is a corporate city, and has returned two members since 31, Charles II. The right

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voted against inquiry into the civil list, and also against the reform bill. While this sheet was in the press, sir Roger was unseated, on the score of bribery, but has since been returned for the proprietory borough of New Romney, Mr. Trevor having accepted the Chiltern hundreds, to try his luck at Durham, where he has been beaten by the reformer, colonel Chaytor.

of election is in the corporation and freemen, amounting to about 1200, wholly manageable by money, and the influence of the marquis of Londonderry through the property of his wife.

.....

GREVILLE, *sir* C. J. *(15, Chesterfield Street). Brother to the earl of Warwick, and a major general in the army. He is hostile to retrenchment and reform.*

WARWICK, *town.* The right of election for two members, conferred 23, Edward I. is in the housekeepers, who pay church and poor rates, in number about 550. The earl of Warwick generally nominates one member; Mr. James, a banker, and reformer, in the town, having in a great degree thrown off the yoke of the castle.

.....

GRIMSTON, *lord. Son to the earl of Verulam; he is a new member, and we cannot trace a vote.*

ALBAN'S ST. *Herts.* This borough was first summoned to send members in the 23, Edward I. but was discontinued from 6, Edward III. till 1, Edward VI. It is a corporate town, and is a county within itself. The right of election is in the corporation and inhabitants paying scot and lot, about 800. Lord Verulam, who is lord lieutenant of the county, and lives close to the town, returns one member: money the other. St. Alban's is a most corrupt place; the voters sell and resell themselves to the candidates.

.....

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GROSVENOR, *hon.* R. *Son to earl Grosvenor, brother to lord Belgrave, member for Cheshire, and nephew to general Grosvenor. He holds a place about the royal person, and very seldom attends.*

CHESTER. See EGERTON, p. 244.

.....

GUEST, J. J. *A banker and iron master. He is a liberal member, and has brought forward one or two useful motions, for a return of pensions, &c.*

HONITON, *Devon.* This is a most corrupt borough. It has returned two members since 28, Edward I., the right of election being in the inhabitant housekeepers, not receiving alms, about 500. Any one may procure the representation through the agency of the town attorneys, who will open his purse wide enough.

.....

GUISE, *sir* B. W. *This member has one brother, a major general in the army, and another with a church living; but he is one of the independent members of the house, and votes pretty well.*

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The duke of Beaufort returns one of the members.

.....

GUNNING, *sir* R. H. *A new member. He voted against the civil list inquiry, and against reform. He is a full-fledged tory.*

NORTHAMPTON, *city.* The elective franchise, for two members, (25, Edward III.) is vested in the inhabitant householders, not receiving alms, about 1000. The corporation returns one member; money the other.

.....

GURNEY, H. *(9, St. James' Square). A banker, and votes against reform. He is the represen-*

NEWTON, *Isle of Wight.* This borough, which has returned two members since 27, Elizabeth, is the joint

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tative of sir H. Barrington, and a strange, unintelligible kind of a person.

property of lord Yarborough, and sir F. Barrington. It has not so much as a remnant of an habitation—the plough goes over the whole, and the ceremony of an election is conducted by the agents of the proprietors, sent thither with furniture and provisions for the purpose!

.....

GURNEY, R. H. (34, *Montague Square*). *A banker at Norwich, and a relation to the previous member; he votes for reform, and is a liberal and consistent man.*

NORWICH. See GRANT, p. 268.

.....

HANDCOCK, R. *Nephew to lord Castlemaine. He is an orangeman and tory, and votes against reform.*

ATHLONE, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election, in this borough, is in the burgesses, 71 in number, under the direct influence of lord Castlemaine, who is governor and constable of the borough.

.....

HARDINGE, *sir* H. (11, *Whitehall Place*). *Brother-in-law to lord Castlereagh, late secretary for Ireland, and a major general in the army. He began his career in Portugal, under the protection of lord Beresford, because he was the friend of the duke of Wellington; and he distinguished himself in Ireland, by issuing, in the name of the lord lieute-*

NEWPORT, *Cornwall.* This borough, which is composed of part of the town of Launceston, has returned members since 6, Edward VI. Under the names of Launceston and Newport, it sends as many members to parliament as the city of London. Like East and West Looe, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Aldborough and Boroughbridge, Bramber and Steyning, they are only different names for

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nant, some of the most despotic proclamations against public meetings and discussions that ever disgraced a constitutional government, and to prove that they were just as they should be, he challenged Mr. O'Connell to fight a duel—knowing at the same time, that he was under solemn obligations not to fight! He opposes all reform and retrenchment.

the same place, split into two boroughs for the corrupt purposes of the times they were created to serve. The right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, in number about 70, and under the influence of the duke of Northumberland.

.....

HANDLEY, W. F. *A new member, just returned on the interest of lord Middleton. He is a banker in the town, and has voted for the ministerial plan of reform.*

NEWARK-UPON-TRENT. This borough has returned two members since the time of Charles the second. The right of election is in the inhabitants who pay scot and lot, in number about 1,600. An ancestor of the duke of Newcastle is said to have expended above 60,000*l.* in the purchase of the property, and the present duke owns the principal parts of the borough, under a lease from the crown, which will expire in 1835. He is, under a similar tenure, proprietor also of most of the adjoining lands. As one means of attaching the tradesmen to his corrupt and abominable interest, he has, it is said, caused the expenditure of considerable donations left to the church. Lord Middleton owns 24 houses in the borough, and, by uniting with the Newcastle interest, at the election before last, he brought in Mr. Willoughby. The duke's nominee was Mr. Sadler, but the election was strongly contested. Mr. Sergeant Wilde was the opposing and popular candidate. The duke's tenants threatened their sub-tenants and servants with discharge, from house and employment, unless they voted for the can-

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didates in the duke's interest. During the canvass, Mr. Sergeant Wilde was repeatedly told by hard-working men, with tears in their eyes, they dare not vote for him, on account of the threat to turn them out of employment, if they opposed the prevailing interest of the tyrannical duke. After the contest, a large number of the duke's tenants were served with notice to quit, for having voted in opposition to the will of their lord, and it was upon the occasion of the discussions to which these acts of tyranny gave rise, that this celebrated boroughmonger uttered the memorable expression—"I've a right to do what I will with my own." Mr. Willoughby having vacated his seat, Mr. Handley was returned upon the same interest, though opposed by Mr. Sergeant Wilde's friends.

.....

HARRIS, G. *(16, Baker Street). A captain in the navy, and a proprietor of East India stock. A new member, and votes against reform.*

GRIMSBY, GREAT, *Yorkshire.* This borough has returned two members since 26, Edward I., the right of election being in the resident freemen, paying scot and lot In the year 1701, the election of one of the members was voted void, he (Mr. Cotesworth) was sent to the tower for bribery, and several of the agents on both sides were ordered into custody for bribery, and other illegal practices. The house also adopted the following resolutions:—"Resolved, that provision be made that, after the dissolution of this parliament, no member of this house shall be concerned as a commissioner, or in any other office in the customs. Resolved, that provision be made, that no commissioner or officer of the customs shall concern themselves in any elections, or procure votes for any election of members in parliament. Ordered that no warrant do issue for a new writ this session." Still, Grimsby is eminently distinguished by its corruption. Its representation may always be obtained by money or trickery.

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HART, G. V. *A general in the army, and governor of Londonderry and Culmore. He has hitherto voted against retrenchment, and reform, but was absent at the division on lord John Russell's motion.*

DONEGAL, *county, Ireland.* The marquisses of Conyngham and Donegal have the prevailing influence in this county.

.....

HARVEY, D. W. *(Great George Street). This is an honest and valuable member. He has not always voted well, but has introduced several matters of considerable importance to the attention of the house; and if he has not succeeded in his efforts to reform the abuses, which he has dragged to the light, it has been in consequence of the corrupt constitution of the legislative body, rather than from any want of industry, ability, honesty, or perseverance in the member for Colchester. His exertions to reform the proceedings in the court of exchequer, and to reduce the ruinous expenses to which every defendant dragged into that court was subjected; as well as his able exposure of the shameful jobbing in the crown lands, and the infamous frauds in the public charities, fol-*

COLCHESTER, *Essex.* This is a populous borough and market town of great antiquity, and has a distinct liberty and separate jurisdiction. It was one of the ancient British settlements, before the Roman invasion, and one of the most important establishments of the Romans while they remained in England. It is a corporate town, and has sent two members to parliament since the reign of Edward I., the right of election being in the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, and free burgesses not receiving alms: about 1,500. Colchester is not less celebrated for its corruption, than for its antiquity and former greatness. Our limits, however, will not permit us to adduce instances of this. After a struggle of more than eight years, unprecedented in personal exer-

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lowed up, as they have been, by his personal exertions, under the abuse and contumely to which a man seeking to rectify public and long existing evils must ever be exposed, give Mr. Harvey a claim upon the gratitude of the public which must never be forgotten.

tion and prodigal expenditure on the part of his opponents, Mr. Harvey, in 1818, broke up "the foul and unnatural" union of the whig and tory factions, and was returned by a majority of 343, against the whig candidate. The expenses of an election here, as in all boroughs where the number of out voters is large, are almost ruinous. Oldfield says he has known 125*l.* charged for conveying two voters from a remote part of England, in a chaise and four! At the last election, Mr. Spottiswoode, the king's printer, was returned, in conjunction with Mr. Harvey, but a petition was presented against the former gentleman, by Mr. Mayhew the unsuccessful candidate. He charges the returning officer with direct partiality and partizanship for Mr. Spottiswoode; and that, to enable the corporation to make the usual bargain with a candidate to be returned on their interest, they delayed the commencement of the election for several hours. It is alleged that Mr. Spottiswoode, having declined engaging in the contest, entered into a negociation with the corporation, and, having succeeded in making terms, was nominated a second time, notwithstanding the protest of the petitioner. That in order to favour Mr. Spottiswoode, the returning officer appointed an old and infirm person as poll-clerk, who polled only four votes in forty minutes. The petition charges that one of the voters had received three guineas from Mr. Spottiswoode, besides twelve shillings for his expenses; but the chief allegation is, that Mr. Spottiswoode is directly, or indirectly concerned in the patent office of king's printer, and thus dependent on the lords of the treasury. Mr. Spottiswoode has been unseated.

.....

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HASTINGS, *sir* C. A. (23, *Savill Street*). *The creature of the corporation, and a thorough-paced anti-reformer.*

LEICESTER. See EVANS, p. 248.

.....

HAY, *lord*. *A captain in the navy, brother to the marquis of Tweeddale, a nephew to the earl of Lauderdale, who directs his parliamentary conduct, and a lord of the bed-chamber. He has formerly voted against all kinds of reform, but supported lord John Russell's motion.*

HADDINGTON, *county*, *Scotland*. In 1793, the number of real voters in this county, did not amount to 20.

.....

HAWKINS, J. H. *A new member, and voted for the reform bill.*

ST. MICHAEL'S, *Cornwall*. This borough has returned two members since Edward IV. The right of election is in the superior and deputy lords, and inhabitants paying scot and lot, in number about 32, under the control of Mr. Hawkins and lord Falmouth.

.....

HEATHCOTE, *sir* W. *Son-in-law to lord Arden, and in remainder to the earldom of Macclesfield. He votes against reform.*

HAMPSHIRE. See FLEMING, p. 254.

.....

HEATHCOTE, *sir* G. *Votes for reform; but is a very idle member.*

RUTLANDSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I. Sir Gerard Noel has always had the power of returning one member. He now represents the county himself; Mr. Heathcote also returns himself, through the influence his large estates give him.

.....

HERON, *sir* R. *This member possesses large es-*

PETERBOROUGH. See FAZARKERLEY. p. 252.

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tates in Lincolnshire, and is one of the best specimens of a country gentleman. He votes well on all questions.

.....

HERRIES, *right hon.* J. C. (7, *Carlton Gardens*). *An ex-minister, belonging to the Wellington troop. He is the son of the loyal but bankrupt merchant, who was colonel of the city light horse. He began life in the commissariat office, whence he derives a pension of* 2091*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; *and was regularly pushed forward till he got into the cabinet. He has made a large fortune, no one knows how. He, of course, opposes every description of reform.*

HARWICH. See DAWSON. p. 231.

.....

HILL, *sir* R. *Cousin to lord Berwick, nephew to lord Hill (commander-in chief), and heir presumptive to the barony. He is a regular tory, and votes against reform.*

SHROPSHIRE, *county.* This county has returned two members since 23, Edward I. It is considered to be independent.

.....

HILL, *lord* A. *Brother to the marquis of Downshire, and also to lord Manners Hill (secretary to the embassy at Turkey). He is a major in the cavalry, and has hitherto opposed reform. He now votes for lord John Russell's motion.*

DOWN, *county, Ireland.* See CASTLEREAGH, p. 210.

.....

HILL, *lord* G. A. *Brother to the preceding member, and a captain in the army. He also votes for lord John Russell's motion on reform.*

CARRICKFERGUS, *Ireland.* This borough is under the influence of the marquis of Downshire, but was strongly contested at the last election.

.....

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HOBHOUSE, J. C. *Brother-in-law to the marquis of Tweeddale, and son to sir Benjamin Hobhouse, who is a commissioner for investigating the debts of the Carnatic. Mr. Hobhouse first brought himself into notice by the publication of a pamphlet, called "a Trifling Mistake," in which he expressed his opinion of the house of commons with such boldness that he was committed to Newgate on the speaker's warrant. The obtaining a seat in the collective, however, put an extinguisher on his usefulness, and he sunk into a jog-trot oppositionist. He has brought forward scarcely any measure of importance, and his best speeches have been rather calculated to make the house laugh than to effect any great purpose. He would be considered a good member did he represent some second-rate borough — but as a representative for Westminster he is insignificant.*

WESTMINSTER, *city.* See BURDETT, p. 190.

.....

HODGES, T. L. *A new member, who votes for retrenchment and reform.*

KENT, *county.* This great county has never yet been able to assert its independence, though by no means wanting the will to do so. The cathedrals of Canterbury and Rochester, the duke of Dorset, the marquis of Camden, earl Romney, and the overwhelming influence which the government possess in the dock-yards of Chatham, Sheerness, Woolwich, and Deptford, as well as in the arsenals, barracks, custom-houses, and garrisons so plentifully distributed over the county, give them the nomination of one of the members. Sir Edward Knatchbull is the favoured person.

.....

HODGSON, J. *Votes for retrenchment and reform.*

NEWCASTLE - UPON - TYNE, *Northumberland.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members since 26, Edward I. The right of election is in the burgesses at large, about 2,500 in number,

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a large proportion of whom, being non-resident, make their votes a mere article of traffic, and sell to the highest bidder.

.....

HOLMES, W. *(10, Grafton Street, Bond Street). Late treasurer of the ordnance, and whipper-in, for the ministry, in the house of commons. His exemplary services under the Wellington administration procured for his son a pension of 500l. after the resignation of the premier! It is scarcely necessary to say, that he zealously upholds every corruption.*

HASLEMERE. See BECKETT, p. 153.

.....

HOLMESDALE, *viscount. Son to earl Amherst,* (see Peep), *and an opponent of reform.*

GRINSTEAD EAST, *Sussex.* The right of election (1, Edward II.,) for two members, for this borough, is in about 30 burgage tenures, belonging to the earl of Delawarr, who, accordingly, returns the members. In the year 1689, a committee determined that the right of election was common to all the inhabitants, but the house refused to confirm its decision.

.....

HOPE, H. T, *(1, Mansfield Street). A member who votes against all kinds of reform.*

EAST LOOE, *Cornwall.* This little hamlet, containing only about 800 inhabitants, has returned two members since 14, Edward III. The elective franchise is vested in the mayor, burgesses, and freemen, about 60 in number, under the entire control of Mr. Hope, whose father purchased the borough of the Buller family.

.....

HOPE, J. T. *Brother, we believe, to the preceding member, and, like him, a*

GATTON, *Surrey.* This place, which has returned two members to parliament

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minion of corruption. He votes against reform.

since 29, Henry VI., stands amongst the foremost of what are called "pocket boroughs;" *i. e.* boroughs belonging to an individual, who nominates the members, and returns them by the votes of a few degraded dependents. The right of election here, is in the freeholders and inhabitants paying scot and lot. Some time since, there was but one house and one vote, it is said; there are now, however, *five!* The borough was formerly the property of sir Mark Wood, who returned himself, and sold the other seat, at a price varying from 3,500*l.* to 4,000*l.*, and latterly 5,000*l.* as secure seats rose in the market. Since the death of sir Mark, lord Monson has purchased the property, at the enormous sum of 160,000*l.* We wish him joy of his bargain.

.....

HOPE, *sir* A. *Uncle to earl Hopetoun, brother to admiral Hope, (commissioner of Greenwich hospital,) and a general in the army. He votes against retrenchment and reform.*

LINLITHGOW, *county, Scotland.* The member for this county is the nominee of the earl of Hopetoun, who is lord lieutenant and hereditary sheriff.

.....

HORNE, *sir* W. (49, *Upper Harley Street*). *The solicitor general, and a new member. He was, of course, returned to support the reform bill, and his conduct upon this question, therefore, gives us no clue to his general character. He is an old chancery lawyer.*

BLETCHINGLEY, *Surrey.* Although this borough contains less than 1,200 inhabitants, it has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of election pertains to about 80 burgage-holds, which are the property of Mr. Matthew Russell, a great coal proprietor, and uncle to one of the members, Mr. C. Tennyson. He purchased these houses for 60,000*l.* and returns both the members.

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HOTHAM, *lord, (7, Hill Street). An Irish peer, cousin to admiral Hotham, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He votes against all reform.*

LEOMINSTER, *Herefordshire.* The right of election (23, Edward I.), for two members, in this borough, is in the bailiffs, capital burgesses, and inhabitants paying scot and lot, in number about 700. For many years the elections were successively under the control of lord Bateman, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Essex, and the corporation; but money has at length become more potent than any or all of them, and now returns both the members. A regular sum is paid to an agent of the members—generally an attorney—who shares in the spoil.

.....

HOULDSWORTH, A. H. *Governor of Dartmouth castle, and a paper manufacturer and banker. He votes against financial and parliamentary reform.*

DARTMOUTH. See BASTARD, p. 150.

.....

HOULDSWORTH, T. *A cotton-spinner, and a supporter of corruption.*

NEWTON, *Lancashire.* This borough, though containing less than 2000 inhabitants, returns two members. The right of election (Elizabeth) is vested in persons seized of a corporal estate of freehold in any house, building, or land, within the borough, of the value of 40*s.*; and these burgage tenements, about 60 in number, belong to Mr. Legh, of Lyne Park, who returns both the members.

.....

HOWARD, H. *This member is a nephew to the duke of Norfolk, and has generally voted well.*

SHOREHAM. See BURRELL, p. 197.

.....

HOWARD, P. H. *Son to H. Howard, esq. of Corby*

CARLISLE, *Cumberland.* This is an ancient city, and

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Castle, and cousin to duke of Norfolk. He is a new member, and was brought in on the popular interest, at considerable expense. He voted for inquiry into the civil list, and also for lord John Russell's reform bill.

the capital of the county, possessing a separate jurisdiction. It has returned two members since the reign of Edward I., the right of election being in the freemen, regularly admitted by the corporation, and not exceeding 800 in number, although the population of the town is about 20,000! The earl of Lonsdale, who is lord lieutenant of the county, and recorder of the city, can always return one of the members, but the electors require great disbursements to be made.

.....

HOWARD, F. G. (16, *Grosvenor Square*). *Brother to viscount Templeton, major-general Upton Howard, and a colonel in the army. He became half proprietor of the borough, by marrying the heiress and a branch of the Howard family; he votes against reform.*

CASTLE RISING. See CHOLMONDELEY, p. 213.

.....

HOWARD, R. *A liberal member, and votes well.*

WICKLOW. See GRATTAN, p. 269.

.....

HOWARD, *hon.* W. (5, *Wilton Place, Knightsbridge*). *Son to the earl of Carlisle. He is a new member, but has voted for sir H. Parnell's and lord John Russell's memorable motions.*

MORPETH, *Northumberland.* This is a corporate town, the right of election in which is only in the bailiffs and free burgesses, about 200 in number. It has returned two members since 1, Mary. It was under the influence of the earl of Carlisle, who is lord of the manor, and has considerable estates in the

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neighbourhood, till the year 1802, when William Ord, Esq. a gentleman who has also an extensive property near the town, and who had been, for some years, reviving an old family interest, his ancestors having represented it from the year 1741, to 1754, so far succeeded as to render it prudent to divide the political interest, and each to return a member. Mr. Ord returns himself, and the earl of Carlisle his own son.

.....

HOWICK, *viscount. Eldest son to earl Grey, and under secretary for the colonies. He is a young man of considerable promise, and his votes have uniformly been good.*

HIGHAM FERRARS, *Northampton.* This is a small borough, containing only about 800 inhabitants, and, governed by a corporation. It has returned one member since the reign of William and Mary, the right of election being in the burgesses at large, about 145 in number, under the control of earl Fitzwilliam, to whom the property belongs, and whose family has nominated the members since 1702.

.....

HOY, J. B. *(27, Grosvenor Street). This member was formerly an assistant surgeon in the army, but succeeded to a large fortune, realized in trade by his uncle. He has voted against sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list, and lord John Russell's on reform.*

SOUTHAMPTON. See DOTTIN. p. 235.

.....

HUGHES, W. *(15, Manchester Buildings). A solicitor. He is a bigotted and narrow-minded man.*

OXFORD, *city.* This city has returned two members since 26, Edward I., the right of election being in the corporation and freemen, about 2,200 in number, about half of whom are non-residents. from the year 1767, to 1796, Oxford was under the

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influence of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Abingdon, each of whom nominated a member; in the latter year it was opened by Mr. Peters. Since that period the influence of the duke of Marlborough has preponderated at one time, and that of the corporation at another. Money is now the principal agent in procuring the return of the members. A petition was presented against the return of Mr. Hughes, by Mr. Lockart, the unsuccessful candidate, principally on the ground of an alleged trick, by which Mr. Lockart's friends were unable to reach the place of election in time. It was dismissed, however, by the committee.

.....

HUGHES, W. L. *(75, South Audley Street). A colonel of militia. He is a great landed proprietor, but a steady friend to liberty and reform. His name is found in more honourable minorities than that of any other member.*

WALLINGFORD, *Berkshire.* This is a corporation borough, and one of the most corrupt in the kingdom; the price of a vote, it is said, being 40 guineas. It has returned two members since 22, Edward I., and the right of election is vested in the corporation, and inhabitants paying scot and lot.

.....

HULSE, *sir* C. *(4, New Burlington Street). Nephew to general sir Edward Hulse, and brother-in-law to E. B. Portman, the member for Dorsetshire, and to Mr. Buller of West Looe. He votes against reform.*

WEST LOOE. See BULLER, p. 189.

.....

HUME, J. *(Bryanstone Square). The merits and services of Mr. Hume are too well known to require enumeration here. He has been indefatigable for many years in his efforts to reduce*

MIDDLESEX. See BYNG. p. 199.

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the expenditure of the country, and to expose and suppress every species of extravagance and jobbing. He is a radical reformer, in the fullest sense of the word, and his return for Middlesex reflects equal credit on the electors and their representative.

.....

HUNT, Henry, (36, *Stamford Street). A blacking manufacturer; and formerly a farmer. Mr. Hunt had made several unsuccessful efforts to obtain a seat in parliament, previously to the late memorable election in Preston, but his repeated failures are to be ascribed rather to the weakness, disunion, and apathy of the reformers themselves, than to their want of confidence in his zeal, activity, and abilities to serve the cause, as a man of business and much practical information, especially with regard to the condition and wants of the labouring classes. Since he obtained a seat in parliament, he has been most assiduous in attending to his parliamentary duties, and has divided the house on some important motions—one, for an amnesty and general pardon to the agricultural labourers; another*

PRESTON, *Lancashire.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., the right of election being in all persons, having attained majority, who have resided in the town for six months, and obtained a parochial settlement. Preston was under the entire domination of the house of Derby, which nominated both the members, till the year 1796, when Mr. Horrocks, the proprietor of very extensive cotton mills in the town, was enabled, by the large number of men whom he could command, to dispute, with a certainty of success at the next election, the representation of Preston with the earl of Derby. In 1802, a coalition was therefore formed, and Mr. Hornby, a son-in-law of the earl of Derby, with Mr. Horrocks represented the Prestonians in parliament. This "foul and unnatural"—though by no

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for the reduction of the army by 10,000 *men, instead of increasing it by* 7,000, *as proposed by ministers; and a third, moved by Mr. Ruthven, to exempt small farmers in Ireland, having under* 2 *acres, from paying tithes on potatoes, in all of which he was, as might well be expected, left in a minority, with some* 3 *or* 4 *other honest members. Mr. Hunt has not, however, given unmixed satisfaction to his constituents, much less to the reformers in general, who probably expected too much from him, considering his very limited acquirements, and imperfect education. They seem to forget that, in an assembly constituted as the present house of commons, the most extraordinary abilities and powers of debate are necessary, to enable a conscientious man to make an impression on those who will not hear unpalatable truths, or painful exposures, unless couched in the most artful and seductive terms, and insinuating eloquence. Mr. Hunt being a plain sort of man,* means uncommon union of the whig and tory parties, to secure the representation between them, was broken up by the return of Mr. John Wood, one of the present members, in the place of the tory candidate, and the subsequent election of Mr. Hunt has completely annihilated the power of the house of Derby. This was one of the most brilliant victories which the force of popular opinion ever obtained. If the situation of the electors, in reference to the patron of the borough, be considered, and their dependence on those who were disposed, by the influence of interest, to support the opposing party, be remembered, it really seems miraculous that Mr. Hunt should have been returned. But the *principle* which they displayed, the effort to recover a long usurped right, claims an equal share of admiration with the victory they obtained. This illustrated strength of a united body of voters should act as a valuable lesson to England at large; and should the example be followed, Preston

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does not possess such qualities and accomplishments as this situation demands ; and hence the disappointment manifested by his friends, to the gratification of his enemies. The speech with which he introduced his motion for the agricultural labourers, was a decided failure, and rather injurious to his reputation as a public man. It was rambling, incoherent, weak, and, for the most part, irrelevant as regarded the object he had in view. The public were less inclined to make allowance in this case, because it was evidently concocted with some pains and premeditation. He had chosen his own ground, and taken up a strong position, as he thought, but did not successfully maintain it ; indeed, the impression made on the house, as well as on his friends and the public, was, that his mind was more occupied about himself and his own history, than interested for the wretched rick burners and machine breakers.

His other occasional and incidental speeches have exhibited more of straitforwardness than discretion ; more

will have the high honour of having laid the first stone of the school of practical independence. It cannot, however, be concealed, or be known without regret, that the exertions of the electors of Preston have exposed them to acute subsequent privations and insult. The earl of Derby, from the mortification which his defeat engendered, has withdrawn his establishment from Preston, and many of the weavers, who voted against his interest, have been deprived of employment, as a punishment for the crime of honesty and independence! The electors are involved in debt, too, in consequence of their struggle. Surely, in such a case, in the endeavour to rescue English liberty from usurpation, their fellow countrymen have but to be informed of their difficulty, to excite the requisite pecuniary aid ! The electors of Preston ought, assuredly, to be protected, at least, against this kind of inconvenience.

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zeal, as a reformer, than judgment as a parliamentary man—more of a disposition to create the impression, that uniformity of political principle characterised his public conduct both in the house and out of it—than a capacity of adapting his reason and arguments to the nature of the subjects under discussion, and the character of the persons he had to oppose. Even on the question of reform, with which his political life is identified, he advanced no cogent argument, that had not been advanced a thousand times before; nor did he appear to much advantage as a critical anatomist when he set about dissecting his adversaries, several of whom would have been inexhaustible subjects, *if consigned to the hands of a more able operator. Had Mr. Hunt possessed the abilities, information, and eloquence necessary to a debater, what a rich repast he might himself have enjoyed, and treated his readers to, at the expense of the stupid and selfish opponents of reform in the house—those shallow and contradictory creatures, whose sophistry was as crooked and as obscure as that constitution which, though incapable of expounding, they affected to eulogise, and as rotten as the old close boroughs whose existence they laboured to perpetuate! Mr. Hunt's deficiencies, in the particulars already stated, will appear more striking, by placing the report of his speech, as corrected and printed by himself, in juxta-position with Mr. O'Connell's. Thus will be seen at once the wide difference betwen the results of cultivated and uncultivated natural talents. One trait in Mr. Hunt's intellectual character must not be omitted; his talent for instantaneous repartee; his dexterity for retorting personal allusions and attacks, and always to his own advantage, the confusion of his aggressor, and the frequent merriment of his auditors. In this talent he has hardly a rival in the house of commons, where he has already furnished many pleasant specimens of the smartness, shrewdness, and piquancy of his retaliating powers—especially in the attacks or reflections thrown out against him by sir J.*

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Yorke, Mr. W. Peel, and Mr. O'Connell himself—in all of which he came off with a decided advantage over his more practised adversaries. This peculiar talent has been of great use to himself; we say to himself, *for, unfortunately, it is a species of ability that can be of no great use to his country. On the whole, it may be safely stated of Mr. Hunt, that since his election to a seat in parliament, he has maintained his character for consistency as a radical reformer, and for a plain, blunt, straitforward, unsophisticated advocate of that great cause which he has always had sincerely at heart. If his friends have been disappointed by his short career, it is chiefly because they expected too much from him, and because they did not sufficiently consider, how much the success of a public orator depends on the character and interests of those whom he addresses; and that no man, however bright his parts, can acquit himself with equal eclat, before hearers who feel with him, think with him, and cheer him at every moment; and other hearers, who have no sympathy, no common interest with him, but look on him from the first instant as a turbulent intruder, let in amongst them to worry and expose them, disturb them in their dream of selfish monopoly, and check them in their insensate career of spoliation and oppression. From such auditors much enlivening applause cannot be expected, and when given, it will be coldly and malignantly. That ingredient in Mr. Hunt's character which exposes him to the greatest danger, is his inordinate vanity. This has nearly proved fatal to him already, in one or two memorable instances, where the "ticklings" of such men as Calcraft, and Dawson, and Jeffrey, have effected such a transformation of the house, in the mind of the member for Preston, that he has jumped upon his legs, and protested, in spite of all he has before uttered, that they were, if not "the noblest assembly of freemen in the world"—at least, a very respectable body of gentlemen. Mr. Hunt must guard against this weakness—it is well known to the worthies in*

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the house, and having so well succeeded in assailing him through it, they will omit no opportunity where the attempt can be made. Were it not that Mr. Hunt's friends were familiar with this, his infirmity, the voluntary compliments which he has passed upon the house, would have damned him to eternal infamy.

What we have written has been dictated by no unkind feelings towards the member for Preston. Quite the contrary. We respect his character, and especially his honesty, and have therefore felt it a duty to point out those defects—some of which he may conquer, and all of which he should sedulously guard against. In conclusion, and in the same spirit in which the preceding remarks have been penned, we ask, why has Mr. Hunt, not only forsaken many of his old friends and fellow reformers "out of doors," but been at the pains to declare several times in the house, that he has no connexion with them? If he were to mix with them as he used to do, he would be much more efficient in parliament, as well as less liable to the suspicions which many of his former associates now unwillingly entertain.

.....

INGESTRIE, *lord, (Mansfield Street). Son to earl Talbot, brother-in-law to the marquis of Waterford, and a captain in the navy. He has been but a short time in parliament, is the nominee of the marquis of Salisbury, and votes against reform.*

HERTFORD. See DUNCOMBE, p. 249.

.....

INGILBY, *sir* W. A. *This member is said to be independent. He voted for the marquis of Blandford's motion on reform, for sir H. Parnell on the civil list, and for lord John Russell's last reform bill.*

LINCOLNSHIRE. See CHAPLIN, p. 212.

.....

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INGLIS, *sir* R. H. *(*11, *Manchester Buildings).* OXFORD, UNIVERSITY. See ESTCOURT, p. 247.

This member is an incarnation of intolerance, and is returned by "the learned" body whom he represents, on the express condition that he should resist all changes in the constitution—or what the boroughmongers call the constitution—meaning thereby, the system which placed the government in the house of commons, in the hands of a certain number of individuals, who impose, and feed upon, the taxes. He opposed the repeal of the corporation and test acts, and of the catholic disabilities, and now sets himself boldly against parliamentary reform, and wishes to gag even the taxed press.

.....

IRVING, J. *(*1, *Richmond Terrace).* BRAMBER. See CALTHORPE, p. 201.

An East India proprietor, a West India and general merchant, and a contractor with foreign powers. He is a thick and thin supporter of corruption and abuse.

.....

JEFFREY, J. *Judge advocate of Scotland. This gentleman enjoys the highest reputation of any man in Scotland, save sir Walter Scott, as having been, for many years, the editor of the great whig journal—the Edinburgh Review. Mr. Jeffrey has been sent to parliament for the purpose of supporting the great measure of reform; but his brilliant speech upon lord John Russell's*

FORFAR, *Scotland.* The burghs of Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Cupar, and St. Andrews return, jointly, one member, the electors being the town-councils of the five burghs, by means of five delegates, the majority of whom decide. At the last general election the candidates for representing these pure corporations in parliament, were the hon. Stuart Wortley, the son of lord Wharncliffe, and

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motion will not enable us to judge of his probable sentiments and conduct on ordinary occasions. Many of the articles which have appeared in his review, induce us to doubt that he is the real friend of the whole *people; and our doubts are rather confirmed than otherwise, by some parts of his late parliamentary oration.*

the hon. colonel Ogilvy, the brother of lord Arlie. Mr. Wortley contrived to make himself suddenly known to that distant part of the empire, as the best representative that could be found, either north or south of the Tweed, and won the hearts of three corporations, who probably before had remained in culpable ignorance that such a promising young statesman was in existence. Perth, St. Andrew's, and Dundee, were the burghs on which this light from the south beamed. The remaining two, Cupar and Forfar, were equally distinguished for sagacity in discovering the merits of colonel Ogilvy. Mr. Wortley, of course, ought to have been the undisputed member, as he had 3 against 2; but it so happened that the corporation of Dundee was in a state of suspended animation, and could lend him no support. It had been disfranchised in March, by a judgment of the court of session, and not having recovered its rights, could not of course communicate any rights to Mr. Wortley. Colonel Ogilvy had but 2 burghs in his favour; but as Forfar was the returning burgh, its delegate possessed 2 votes—one, as a delegate, and the other as a president. A parliamentary committee decided against Mr. Wortley, because, without Dundee, he was in a minority; and against colonel Ogilvy, because he was proved to have treated or entertained the electors, with a view to their votes. Both gentlemen, therefore, lost the fruits of their contest—of their harangues—and of their dinners.

These gentlemen being driven from the field, two others immediately entered it—the lord advocate, and colonel Ogilvy's brother. The learned lord succeeded to the votes

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of Mr. Wortley, in Perth and St. Andrew's, but captain Ogilvy had intrenched himself in Cupar and Forfar. The great aim, therefore, of the lord advocate's friends, was to dislodge captain Ogilvy from one of those burghs, as, by having the casting vote, they secured a majority. To effect this, no means were left untried. Promises, solemnly given and broken—pledges made and withdrawn—intrigues and influence of all kinds—threats and offers of advantage—distinguish a contest for the vote of a rotten borough in a remote part of Scotland, having only a fifth part of a parliamentary delegation at its disposal, as much as any conclave that ever elected a sovereign to the Catholic world. One of the deacons to the trades is said to have been kidnapped in returning home from dinner, to be kept in prison till the election was over; and his body was only forthcoming on the threat of procuring a legal warrant to search for it in the inns. Another deacon had to resist the threat of being turned out of his house in the duke of Newcastle style; and other members of the council were seized for fictitious debts, by messengers at arms, that they might be in prison when the election came on. The consequences of these manœuvres on the part of Mr. Jeffrey's friends, was a majority of the town council of Cupar in his favour, on the day of election, till the sudden irruption of a member who was supposed to have been imprisoned, defeated the scheme. The provost, on seeing this unwelcome guest—at the sight of whom he expressed as much horror as *Macbeth* at *Banquo's* ghost—retired with all his partizans, in order to defeat the election. The partizans of the other candidate being thus left in the unmolested possession of the hall, proceeded to his election, and returned him to parliament. A petition against the return was presented by captain Ogilvy, and the committee has declared the election of Mr. Jeffrey to be void, and that of the captain to be valid. The lord advocate has since been returned for earl Fitzwilliam's nomination borough of Malden, in the place of sir J. Scarlett.

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JENKINS, R. *(19, Upper Harley Street). An East India proprietor, and a candidate for the directorship. He was formerly a political agent of the company at one of the Mahratta courts, and has been but a short time in parliament; he votes against reform.*

SHREWSBURY, *Salop.* This corporate borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of election has been determined, after much litigation, to be in the resident burgesses, about 1,000 in number.

.....

JEPHSON, C. D. O. *This member votes in favour of every motion for retrenchment and reform. He is a truly honest man, and devoted to the interests of Ireland.*

MALLOW, *borough, Ireland.* The freeholders of this borough, about 560, are under the control of Mr. Jephson, who returns himself.

.....

JERMYN, *earl, (7, St. James' Street). Eldest son to the marquis of Bristol, and brother to lord W. Hervey, secretary of legation, at Spain. He seldom attends; when he does it is to vote against reform.*

BURY ST. EDMOND'S. See EUSTON. p. 240.

....

JERNYNGHAM, H. B. V. *Son to lord Stafford, and nephew, by marriage, to the duke of Norfolk. He is a Roman catholic, and has, therefore, been but a short time in parliament. He voted for sir H. Parnell, and lord J. Russell.*

PONTEFRACT, *Yorkshire.*—The right of election (23, Edward I.), for two members, is in the resident householders, in number about 620, who sell their votes to the highest bidder.

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JOHNSTONE, *sir* J. *Son-in-law to the archbishop of York. He was returned on Mr. Brougham's being called to the house of peers, and has voted in favour of lord J. Russell's bill.*

YORKSHIRE, *county.* See BETHEL, p. 164.

.....

JOHNSTON, J. J. H. *Son to admiral Hope, (commissioner of Greenwich hospital), cousin to lord Hopetoun, and nephew to general sir A. Hope. He voted against inquiry into the civil list, but for lord John Russell's motion.*

DUMFRIESSHIRE, *Scotland.* The number of voters here are about 45, and lord Hopetoun has considerable influence.

.....

JOHNSTON, J. *This member has voted for retrenchment and reform.*

STIRLING, *burgh Scotland.* The boroughs of Stirling, Invernessshire, Dunfermline, Culross, and Queensferry, unitedly send one member to parliament.

.....

JOLLIFFE, G. E.
JOLLIFFE, *sir* W.

These are sons of the rev. W. Jolliffe, of the firm of Jolliffe and Banks, bridge builders, and nephews to the proprietor of the borough, whose representatives they are. They oppose, with all their might, every species of reform.

PETERSFIELD. Although this borough has but 1500 inhabitants, it has returned two members since 35, Edward I. The right of election is in the freeholders of lands, or ancient dwellings, or shambles, or pig-sties, or any thing even more degraded. The number of nominal voters is about 140, but actually only one, Colonel Jolliffe, the proprietor. It is said that the power of nominating the members has realized from 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* to

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the family of the Jolliffes, from whom it will be taken by the projected reform!—Petersfield, to use the language of lord Wynford when Mr. Serjeant Best, M. P. for that borough, was considered one of the safest places of the kind, and always commanded the highest price for seats in the market, as it was not necessary for the candidate ever to show his face; and, in fact, for half a century the inhabitants neither knew or ever saw the purchaser of the seat.—At the last election, lord Porchester and Mr. Ogle came forward to open the borough, but failed in their attempt. A petition, presented by them against the return, states that the returning officer is the mayor, who is nominated by the jury at the court leet; that jury is nominated by the steward of the lord of the manor, colonel Hylton Jolliffe; and the present steward is the solicitor and the confidential agent of colonel Jolliffe, and acted last election as the agent and solicitor for the sitting members; that for several years, colonel Jolliffe has exercised a controlling influence over the appointment of the returning officer, and the selection of his assessor at contested elections; that at the last election, Mr. Lipscombe, a tenant of colonel Jolliffe's, was the mayor, and acted as returning officer; and that Mr. J. Penfold, a solicitor residing at Croydon, in Surrey, acted as his assessor; that at the election of 1826, Mr. Penfold was mayor, and acted as returning officer, although wholly unconnected with, and unknown to, the inhabitants: that the assessor was not impartially selected by the returning officer, but by colonel Jolliffe, and the sitting members, who are his nephews. The petition also states, that votes were admitted or rejected according to the side the elector supported; and that one vote tendered on behalf of the sitting members, which their counsel admitted to be invalid, was afterwards admitted by the returning officer. The committee have rejected the suit of the petitioners, however, and confirmed the return of the two Jolliffes.

.....

JONES, T. (22, *Duke-* LONDONDERRY, *county, Ire-*

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Street, Portland Place). A captain in the navy, and an anti-reformer. He is returned by the orange faction.

land. See BATESON, p. 151.

.....

JONES, J. (39, *Bury-Street, St. James'*). *This member has always voted against retrenchment and reform. He is a curious character.*

CARMARTHEN, *town, Wales.* The right of election in this corporate town, which has returned a member since the reign of Henry VIII. is in the burgesses, about 600 in number, under the influence of lord Cawdor.

.....

KAVANAH, T. *This member is related to the family of the Ormonds. We can only trace his vote on two questions, namely, against Mr. O'Connell's motion for reform, and against the enfranchisement of the Jews. He has not yet taken his seat in the present parliament. We suppose he is ashamed of the company in which he would be placed!*

CARLOW. See BRUEN, p. 187.

.....

KEARSLEY, J. H. *A new member, who took his seat just in time to vote against the reform bill!*

WIGAN. *Lancashire.* Although this borough contains a population of about 30,000 persons, yet the number of electors does not exceed 30. and only embraces those favoured individuals whom the mayor, aldermen, and two bailiffs please to admit as burgesses. The earl of Balcarras, who is cousin to colonel Lindsey, is the patron. An attempt was made to open the borough at the last general election, but unsuccessfully; and a petition was presented by the unsuccessful candidates against the return of the corporation members. The petitioners submitted that the right of voting was vested in the inhabitants paying scot and

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lot. On the other side it was contended that the right was exclusively confined to the select body.—It appeared from the evidence, that this borough had returned members to parliament in the reign of Edward I., but that that privilege had been suspended from the termination of that reign until the first of Edward VI., and that the returns were made during the former period, and in the first parliament of the latter, in the name of the mayor and the inhabitants; but that ever since these returns had been made in the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses. There were several charters granted to a select body in that borough, but none of them prescribed the right of election, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, had been exclusively exercised by the select body, and there was no decision of a committee of the house on the subject.—For the petitioners, it was contended that, as this borough had returned members to parliament in the reign of Edward I., and had then no charter, the common-law right of election must have then prevailed, which no usage to the contrary, however strong, could destroy.—The committee, however, after having been four days occupied in investigating the subject, decided that the right of election was that which was contended for on behalf of the corporation, and that colonel Lindsay and Mr. Hodson had been duly elected. The latter member has since resigned his seat, and Mr. Kearsley succeeded to it.

.....

KECH, J. A. L. *This member does not often vote, and should be unseated at the next election, notwithstanding his vote on reform.*

LEICESTERSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 18, Edward I., and has been for many years ruled by the two great political factions, whig and tory, who each returned a member, and thus cheated the people of their rights. At the last general election, a vigorous effort was made to put an end to the domination of the house of Rutland, who have hitherto imposed one of its own members

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upon the freeholders of the county ; and though the independent party failed in returning their candidate, Mr. Paget, a banker of Leicester, they have entirely destroyed the patrician dictation, and at the next election will secure a triumph.—Never, in the memory of man, did Leicester witness such an out-pouring of popular enthusiasm as during this contest. The calm and steadfast devotion—the disinterested industry, enterprise, and intelligence of the friends of the popular candidate, excited the utmost astonishment, and produced the most unexpected and extraordinary results. Friends and enemies were equally astonished. The first scarcely hoped that a spirit of independence, so wide and so strong, could exist. The last, still more sceptical as to its existence, imagined it would never dare to show itself in the face of such an array of the rank and wealth of the county as was diligently and purposely collected at the day of nomination.—At the close of the poll, Mr. Paget had polled 2,196 votes, of which 1,600 were plumpers !

.....

KEMMIS, T. A. *A captain in the army, and a voter against retrenchment and reform.* EAST LOOE. See HOPE, p. 280.

.....

KEMP, T. R. *(64, St. James' Street). This member does not attend very well, but he is a firm and zealous reformer.* LEWES, *Sussex.* The elective franchise, given 23, Edward I., for two members, is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, amounting to nearly 400. This borough is considered to be independent; we understand, however, that the voters are gratuitously and constantly supplied with coals by the sitting members.

.....

KENNEDY, T. F. *A Scotch advocate, and one of the* AYR, *burgh, Scotland.* The burghs of Ayr, Irvine, In-

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few Scotch members who vote liberally.

verary, Campletown, and Rothsay, unitedly send one member to parliament. The families of Argyle and Bute possess considerable influence in the elections.

.....

KENYON, *hon.* L. *Son of lord Kenyon, (custom brevium, king's bench, at* 2,696*l.) and nephew to hon. T. Kenyon, (filasier exigenter and clerk of outlawries, king's bench, at* 1,254*l. and a pension of* 5,463*l.) *He is a new member, and voted against the reform bill.*

ST. MICHAEL'S. See HAWKINS, p. 277.

.....

KERRISON, *sir* E. (13, *Great Stanhope Street). A major general in the army, a colonel of dragoons, an East India proprietor, and recorder of the borough which he represents. He seldom attends, but managed to reach the house, to vote against the reform measure.*

EYE, *Suffolk.* This is a corporate town, and though having but a population of 1800, it has a separate jurisdiction, and has returned two members to parliament since 13, Elizabeth. The right of election is in the corporation, and inhabitants paying scot and lot, in number about 200, but the power to return the members lies with the recorder—sir E. Kerrison, whose father purchased the borough, at the death of the late marquis of Cornwallis, in whose family it had been for many years. Sir P. Sydney, who was returned at the last general election has just vacated his seat, under the following circumstances:—This gentleman informed his colleague, sir Edward Kerrison (the patron of the borough), that it was his desire to vote for ministers in furtherance of their plan of reform; and that the king (one of whose daughters he had married) was naturally desirous of seeing his son-in-law in the ranks of those who, on this especial occasion, would support his administration. "Well," replied sir Edward, "you know the condition on which you hold

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your seat: vote as I approve, or, as is usual in such cases, vacate it by accepting the Chiltern hundreds." Sir Philip did not hesitate, and the bond being exacted, a new writ was issued. Next followed a dinner to the electors, at which the two corporate bodies feasted on turtle, and drank wines of the most delicious flavours, the relish being heightened by a high-seasoned dish of vituperative animadversion on the interference of majesty with a vote which they and their patron had taken care to deprive of conscientious value when first imparted. The election was proclaimed, and sir L. Burgh, of whom the electors knew nothing more than that sir E. Kerrison agreed to accept his bond, was returned, Happily for the whole country, and for these poor slaves' souls, this will be nearly the last election at Eye.

.....

KILDERBEE, S. H. (8, ORFORD. See COOKE, p. 222. *Upper Grosvenor Street).*
This member seldom attends, but he voted against inquiry into the civil list, and the reform bill. He is the nominee of the marquis of Hertford.

.....

KILLEEN, *lord. Eldest son to the earl of Fingal, and a Roman catholic. He has voted well since he took his seat.* MEATH, *county, Ireland.*

.....

KING, *sir* J. D. (53, *Green Street). This member, who is an active country magistrate, has represented this borough, where he has large estates, since the year* 1796. *He votes against reform.* CHIPPING WYCOMBE, *Bucks.* The right of election in this corporate borough, since 23, Edward I., for two members of parliament, is in the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses not receiving alms—in number about 60. The power of returning the members in this and similar boroughs, is enjoyed by a few persons. Sir J. D.

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King has the corporate body under his influence, which takes care only to admit such persons as they can depend upon being subservient to the wishes of the patron. The following list of names of the aldermanic body of the corporation of Chipping Wycombe, with the names of the burgesses elected by the said aldermen, in virtue of a bye-law, in whom with the aldermanic body, is vested the election of members to represent in parliament the inhabitants of the said borough, and also the choice of magistrates for the said borough, will admirably illustrate the case of most corporate boroughs.

Thomas Westwood, mayor, Wycombe.

Rev. James Price, alderman, Great Munden, Herts, vicar of Great Munden and Wycombe.

John Carter, ditto, Wycombe, son-in-law to alderman Price.

William Parker, ditto, brother-in-law to alderman Carter.

Richard B. Slater, M. D. ditto, ditto.

Robert Wheeler, ditto, ditto.

William Sprotson, ditto, ditto, master of the free grammar school, in the gift of the aldermen.

Rev. Isaac King, ditto, West Wycombe, vicar of West Wycombe.

John Malthie, ditto, Hans' Square, Chelsea, auctioneer to the East India company.

Three vacancies by death; one in April, 1829; one in October; and another in December, 1830.

Robert Chadley, Bailiff, Wycombe.

John Prestage, ditto, Pentonville, near London.

BURGESSES RESIDING IN WYCOMBE.*

Charles Baly, son of the late alderman Baly.

George Lloyd Parker, son of alderman Parker.

John Parker, ditto.

* *Joseph Biddle,* son of late alderman Biddle and nephew to alderman Rose.

* *John Prestage,* jun. son of bailiff Prestage.

William Harvergal, bailiff, alternately.

* Those marked thus (*) have been elected since the last election.

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* *John Rumsey*, partner with the town clerk.
* *Joseph Mullet*, collector of stallage and tolls of the corporation.
Joseph Hunt.
John Hill, collector of the assessed taxes.
George Harman, postmaster.
Thomas Edmonds.
John Nash.
* *Joseph W. Burrough.*
* *William Thomas Butler.*
* *Robert Robinson.*
* *Henry Wardall.*
* *William Henry Williams.*
* *Thomas Guy.*
* *William Giles.*
* *John Foyster.*
* *John Sutton.*

Total resident burgesses - - - 22

BURGESSES NOT RESIDING IN WYCOMBE.

Lord Carrington, Wycombe Abbey.

Honourable Robert Smith, Gayhurst, Bucks, member for the county of Bucks.

* *Marquis of Chandos*, Wooton, ditto, ditto.

Sir Thomas Baring, bart. Stratton Park, Wilts, member for Wycombe.

Sir John Dashwood King, bart. Hatton, Bucks, ditto.

* *Francis Baring, esq.* son to the member for Wycombe.

* *G. H. Dashwood, esq.* West Wycombe house, ditto.

Sir William Clayton, bart. Harleyford, Bucks.

* *Lieutenant-colonel Crewe*, Loake's house, Bucks, son-in-law to lord Carrington.

John Blackstone, L. L. D. Wallingford, Berks, recorder for the borough.

* —— *Blackstone*, ditto, ditto, son of the recorder.

Rev. William Hughes, vicarage, Brandenham, Bucks brother-in-law to alderman Price, and uncle to alderman Carter.

Rev. James Price, jun. Northamptonshire; *John Price*, Huntingdon; and *Rev. George Price*, sons to the late alderman Price, and brothers-in-law to alderman Carter.

* *John Moses Carter*, Hertford; and* ———— *Lewis*, Buntingford, Herts, sons-in-law to alderman Price, and brothers-in-law to alderman Carter.

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William Biddle, London; *Edward Biddle*, ditto; and *John Biddle*, ditto, sons of late alderman Biddle, and nephews to alderman Rose.

Rev. Benjamin Blackden, Oxfordshire; and *John C. Blackden*, Wargrave, Berkshire, sons of late alderman Blackden.

Rev. Thomas Clarke, Reading, Berkshire; *William Clarke;* and *John Clarke*, London, sons of late alderman Clarke.

Rev. William Havergal, Gloucestershire, son of bailiff Havergal,

* *Rev. Isaac King, jun.* West Wycombe; and * *William King,* Mark Lane, London, sons of alderman King.

Joseph Shrimpton, London, relative of alderman King

Major George Mackenzie, ditto, brother-in-law to alderman King.

Samuel Sprotson, ditto, brother to alderman Sprotson.

Henry Kennall, nephew to alderman Sprotson.

John Rotton, Excise Office, London; and* *Richard Rotton*, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, sons of late alderman Rotton.

* *Robert Westwood*, Newgate Street, London, brother of the present mayor.

* *James Chadley,* London, son of the present bailiff.

* *Joseph Baly*, Camden Town, son of late alderman Baly and brother-in-law to alderman Rose.

* *John Norris, esq.* Hughenden House, Bucks.

John Chapman, Holten, Oxen.

John Mason, Somersetshire.

Edward Paine, Thame, Oxon, brother-in-law to alderman Carter.

Robert Nash, Castle Hill, near Wycombe, town clerk.

Richard Lansdale, Wycombe Marsh.

Daniel Turner, Oxford.

Colonel George, Lloyd Wardle.

* ——— *Gwilliam,* Strand, London.

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* *William Hinchcliffe*, near Wycombe.
William Baddeley.

Total non-resident burgesses - - - - 49

RECAPITULATION.

Resident.		*Non-resident.*	
Aldermen - - - - -	7	Aldermen - - - - -	3
Bailiff - - - - - - -	1	Bailiff - - - - - -	1
Burgesses - - - - -	22	Burgesses - - - - -	49
	30		53
		resident - -	30
		Majority of non-resident votes - -	23

The persons to whose names an asterisk is affixed, have been made burgesses since the last election for members of parliament.

The population of the borough and parish, according to the last census, 5,599.

.....

KING, *hon.* H. *Brother to the earl of Kingston, and a major general in the army. He has hitherto opposed retrenchment and reform, but obtained new light, we suppose, and votes for lord John Russell's motion!* SLIGO, *county, Ireland.*

.....

KING, *hon.* R. (3, *Whitehall Place*). *Son to the earl of Kingston. He has generally voted against reform, but now, like his uncle, supports the reform bill. These men are not to be trusted in times like the present.* CORK, *county, Ireland.* See BOYLE, p. 181.

.....

KNATCHBULL, *sir* E. (30, *Great George Street*). *This man has happily been* KENT, *county.* See HODGES, p. 279.

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characterised as "a mere lump of pride and prejudice, adapted to the capacities of children." He paired off against the reform bill. He must not again be returned for Kent!

.....

KNIGHT, R. *(44, Grosvenor Square). This member is one of the oldest reformers in the house, and belongs to the school of radicals. He has been a member of every society formed to support liberty and advocate reform.*

WALLINGFORD. See HUGHES, p. 285.

.....

KNOX, *hon.* T. *Son to lord Northland, who, with his brother, Vesey Knox, enjoys a pension of* 7,150*l. He voted for the second reading of the reform bill; but see the next member.*

DUNGANNON, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election is in the free burgesses, 12 in number, under the control of lord Northland, to whom the greater part of the borough belongs.

.....

KNOX, *hon.* J. H. *Another son of lord Northland, and son-in-law of the earl of Kilmorey. He votes against reform. In noticing these worthy members of the Knox family, it is necessary that I should lay before the readers of the* PEOPLE'S BOOK *some account of the obligations under which the country is placed to the illustrious men of whom it is composed. The late lord Northland, and father of the present viscount, was rewarded pretty liberally by "the heaven-born minister" for the influence he afforded to him in carrying the measure of the union between the two countries. Two of his sons, Thomas—the present viscount—and Vesey, were appointed prothonotaries in the Irish court*

NEWRY, *borough, Ireland.* The prevailing influence in this borough is that of the earl of Kilmorey, who is a general on the staff, and a pensioner.

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of common pleas ; another son—the present bishop of Derry —was translated from the worst bishopric—Killala—to the second best in the country ; another was appointed to the deanery of Down ; and a fifth was made a general on the staff! No other family in Ireland—the Beresfords alone excepted—have received so much of the public money, wrung from the worst governed people upon the face of the earth, as have the family of the Knoxes. But, a few words about the prothonotaryship of the common pleas. This office was, of course, a mere sinecure, the duties being discharged by deputy, who handed over to his principals 12,000*l. a year, upon an average, without subjecting them to other trouble than that of receiving the money*! While these gentlemen were in office, Mr. Peel filled the situation of secretary for Ireland, and a communication was made to him by a gentleman named Ball, who was practising as an attorney, that frauds on the revenue, to an enormous extent, were annually committed in the prothonotaries' office. Mr. Peel, in a letter, which can still be produced, replied, that if the statements made by Mr. Ball proved to be well-founded, "neither family, rank, nor influence" should prevail upon him to screen the parties. An inquiry was instituted, and Mr. Ball's statements were more than borne out by the results. It was ascertained that a practice had long prevailed in the prothonotaries' office, of recording the judgments of the court, on parchments,* without any stamps, *although the usual payments,* including those for stamps, *were* demanded *and* received. *Thus, large sums of money belonging to the public revenue were abstracted and transferred to their own pockets, by these trustworthy officers ! But these frauds, enormous though they were, constituted but a small part of the evil. The most dreadful grievance was, the insecure state in which this practice had placed the property of all those persons for whom*

* The entire sum received by these gentlemen, from this appointment, has been no less than 235, 127*l.* 7*s.* 3*d* ! ! !

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judgments had been entered; for, in consequence of the records being destitute of the stamps required by law, they were not legal instruments, and their effects became null and void. Any man who had obtained judgment on a bond, and afterwards came into possession of an estate, in virtue of such judgment, might be turned out of his property, after his security was cancelled, *on account of the illegality of the instrument which purported to convey it to him! Every individual, in fact, against whom a judgment had been entered, might have had it reversed, upon this ground! The commissioners of inquiry found piles upon piles of parchments, containing the records of cases adjudged in the court, upon which there was not a single stamp; and the calculation that was made—although it did not go to the whole extent of the case—shewed that the revenue had been defrauded of at least* HALF *a million of money! Mr. Ball, who had brought this enormous atrocity to light, generously refused compensation for the discovery, and insisted that the affair should be investigated in parliament, that the delinquents might have their merited reward. This was promised by Mr. Peel—letters under his own hand, and which we possess, shew that he was fully satisfied of the enormity of the case—the inquiry was, however, postponed from time to time, one excuse after another being suggested, until at length Mr. Peel resigned the secretaryship of Ireland, and entered upon that for the home department. Mr. Ball followed him to England, and tried various means to extort from him the fulfilment of his pledge. Persecution, however, was all that this worthy man could realize in return for his generous exertions. He was reduced to poverty and want, and one morning his room was entered by two men, who placed upon him a strait-waistcoat, and conveyed him to a private madhouse, where he died within a few weeks afterwards!*

"Eternal Justice—will thy thunders sleep?"

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It is well for some parties that Mr. Peel's bill, making it felony to compound a felonious act, was not then in existence; but there are other modes by which a parliament representing the people, and having their confidence, may reach these great public peculators and robbers.

It was impossible, however, after the circumstances which were brought to light by the commissioners of inquiry, that the patent office should be continued to Messrs. the honourable *Thomas and Vesey Knox. The patent was rescinded, and the office swept of the parties inculpated in the proceedings we have detailed. The reader will, of course, expect that they were transported—if not hung; or if not so, that they were sent to the treadmill for life—or at the least, to wander about as vagabonds to be shunned and abhorred by honest men. No such thing. This is not the fashion in which great public delinquents are dealt with. Thomas and Vesey Knox, the prothonotaries, were rewarded with a pension, for their lives, of* 7,150*l.* 3*s.* 0*d. a-year; and Mr. George Hill, their deputy, was granted a patent place* in the same office, *but it being so much less than what he* made *as deputy, he pined away and died!!!*

.....

LABOUCHERE, H. *(4, Hamilton Place). A nephew of Sir Thomas and Mr. A. Baring. He is an independent member, and has attended and voted well.*

TAUNTON. See BAINBRIDGE, p. 143.

.....

LAMB, *hon.* G. *(Whitehall). Brother to viscount Melbourne, and to sir F. Lamb (minister at Vienna), and joint secretary for the home department, at* 2,000*l. a-year.*

DUNGARVON, *borough, Ireland.* This borough is under the control of the duke of Devonshire.

.....

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LAMBERT, J. S. *This member votes well. We believe he is brother-in-law to earl Talbot.* GALWAY, *county, Ireland.* See BURKE, p. 195.

.....

LANGSTON, J. H. (148, *Piccadilly). The same may be said of this member as of the preceding one.* OXFORD, *city.* See HUGHES, p. 284.

.....

LASCELLES, *hon.* N. (14, *Hanover Square). Son to the earl of Harewood, and son-in-law to the marquis of Bath. He seldom attends, but votes against reform, and never would be returned but for a property borough.* NORTHALLERTON. See BERESFORD, p. 159.

.....

LAWLEY, F. (18, *Grosvenor Square). Brother-in-law to lord Middleton, and related by marriage to the families of Bolingbroke and Conyngham. His attendance is not so constant as it should be when great questions are discussed. He voted, however, for the reform bill.* WARWICKSHIRE. See DUGDALE, p. 237.

.....

LEA, J. J. *A new member. He has voted in the majorities on the civil list and reform.* WELLS, *Somersetshire.* The right of election in this borough (23, Edward I.) for two members, is in the mayor, burgesses, and freemen, in number about 450. There is now no patron but the purse of the candidates.

.....

LEADER, N. P. *An Irish barrister, and a liberal member.* KILKENNY, *city, Ireland.*

.....

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LEFEVRE, G. S. (*7, Fleet Street*). *A banker, and a new member. He is a highly liberal whig, and voted for reform, as well as for inquiry into the the civil list.*

DOWNTON. See BROUGHAM. p. 185.

.....

LEFROY, T. *A barrister, a distinguished orangeman, and an enemy of reform.*

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY. The right of election for two members, is in the provost, fellows, and scholars—about 100 in number.

.....

LEFROY, A. *Son to the previous member, and of "the same kidney."*

LONGFORD, *county, Ireland.* See FORBES, p. 256.

.....

LEGH, T. *A colonel in the army. This member is only to be met with, in the votes, twice, notwithstanding the number of important questions that have been under the consideration of parliament during the last twelve months—namely, to vote against the catholics, and in favour of the civil list inquiry.*

NEWTON, *Lancashire.* See HOULDSWORTH, p. 282.

.....

LEMON, *sir* C. (*43, Curzon Street*). *Brother-in-law to the earl of Ilchester. He is a liberal member. His father was one of the steady friends of the people who opposed the American and French wars. Sir Charles voted with the majority on the reform bill..*

PENRYN. See FRESHFIELD, p. 258.

.....

LENNARD. T. B. (*38, Upper Brook Street*). *A barrister, son to sir T. B. Lennard, and brother to J. B Lennard, clerk of the council. He attends and votes well.*

MALDON. See DICK, p. 234.

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LENNOX, *lord* G. *Brother to the duke of Richmond (post-master general), and to the two lady Lennoxes who are on the pension list. He is a lieutenant colonel in the army. He seldom votes, but is to be found in the majorities on the civil list and reform*

CHICHESTER, *Sussex.* This is a city and county of itself, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of election is in the resident householders paying scot and lot—in number about 700, under the influence of the duke of Richmond and the earl of Egremont, who usually each nominate a member.

.....

LESLIE. C. P. *This member is related to the Forsters. He might as well remain in Ireland, for he is not to be found voting on either side of any of the great questions for the last twelve months!*

NEW ROSS, *borough, Ireland.* The marquis of Ely commands the return of the member for this borough, by the means of 32 burgesses.

.....

LESTER, B. L. *A merchant, and a member who has generally voted well.*

POOLE, *Dorsetshire.* This is a corporate town, was made a county by Elizabeth, and has returned two members since 36, Edward III., with some intermissions. The right of election is in the corporation and admitted freemen—about 100 in number—some of whom have prized the privileges which the corporation confers so highly as to have purchased them at the sum of 500*l.* The corporation, and Mr. Ponsonby, to whom the property belongs, divide the representation; the former returning Mr. Lester, and the latter himself.

.....

LEWIS, *right hon.* T. F. RADNORSHIRE. This county

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Late president of the board of trade, and cousin to sir T. Frankland. He votes against reform.

has returned one member since 23, Henry VI.

.....

LINDSAY, J. *(14, Lower Berkley Street). Cousin to the earl of Balcarras, nephew to the bishop of Kildare, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He is a thick and thin supporter of corruption.*

WIGAN. See KEARSLEY, p. 298.

.....

LITTLETON, E. J. *(45, Grosvenor Place). An independent and valuable member.*

STAFFORDSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 28, Edward I.

.....

LLOYD, *sir* E. J. *(9, Lower Seymour Street). His parliamentary attendance has been bad for some months past, but he is an independent and liberal man, and voted for lord John Russell's motion.*

FLINT, *town, Wales.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned a member since 37, Henry VIII.

.....

LOCH, James. *(23, Hart Street, Bloomsbury). An East India proprietor, a barrister, and auditor to lord Stafford. Votes against reform. He paired off in favor of lord John Russell's motion, however.*

KIRKWALL, *burgh, Scotland.* The burghs of Kirkwall, Dornock, Wick, Dingwall, and Tain, unitedly return one member. Lord Dundas possesses all the property in the neighbourhood of Kirkwall, and the marquis of Stafford, through the marchioness (countess of Sutherland), that in the vicinity of Dingwall, and Dornock. Mr. Loch is returned through his influence.

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LOCH, John. (18, *Bedford Place*). *An East India director. He has voted for reform.*

HYTHE, *Kent.* This is one of the cinque ports, and returned members in the 42, Edward III. The following extract, from a petition recently presented to the house of commons, from the rateable inhabitants of Hythe, will shew that its representation is in a state analogous to that of the other cinque ports.

"Your petitioners have grevious cause of complaint against the gross usurpations of the corporate body, to which for many years this town has been the victim, and from a former flourishing condition, in consequence of the abominable proceedings of their corporation, is fast sinking into ruin, which but for the merciful interposition of this honourable house must be irretrievable. That at so early a date as the reign of the conqueror, the town of Hythe contained 231 efficient burgesses, as will appear from domesday-book. That in 1710, the period of the last decision of a committee of privilege, there were only four out-resident freemen of the town, and those four had served in parliament. That by the customs of the cinque ports there should be resident in Hythe one mayor, 12 jurats, and 24 common councilmen. But that, in consequence of the malpractices of the corporation, having for their object the making this a close and venal borough, the number of resident freemen is at the present period only 19; the number of jurats is only 3, of whom one is bed-ridden, and too aged and feeble for office; the number of common councilmen only 4, but the number of out-residents about 450. That your petitioners have had nothing to do with the election of the two members returned for the town and port of Hythe; and that in consequence of the vicious and destructive custom of out-residence, a custom abetted by the two acting resident jurats, and the two sitting members, who maintain almost all the out-residents in their service, by gifts, emoluments, and places (as your petitioners are ready

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to prove, if called to the bar of this honourable house, and as a certain Mr. Cropper, one of the porters of the East India house, can also prove, if called up to the bar of this honourable house), the return of two members at present seated for the town and port of Hythe has been effected in violation of the dearest and most sacred rights of the cinque ports, generally, and the town of Hythe in particular. That the business of the election in the town of Hythe is a contemptible farce, and that it might as well be conducted in the counting house of Mr. Stewart Majoribanks, or the private room of Mr. John Loch, at the East India house, as your petitioners are ready to prove, if called to the bar of this honourable house; and as Mr. Cropper, can also prove, if called upon as aforesaid. That unless a general reform be immediately carried, by the legislature giving the elective franchise to every rated and rateable inhabitant of the town of Hythe, your petitioners pray that the colourable privilege of returning members to parliament may be taken away; for the business of elections, as it is at present conducted in the said town, is by them considered an open insult to themselves, as such rated inhabitants of the said town—as a violation of their dearest privileges and rights—and is the fatal cause of bringing down almost irretrievable ruin upon their heads."

.....

LOUGHBOROUGH, *lord. Eldest son of the earl of Rosslyn, (late lord privy seal, a general officer; colonel of the 9th lancers, and director of the chancery of Scotland—about* 3,500*l.*,) *clerk to the chancery in Scotland, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army—about* 1,600*l. He votes like a sturdy tory—against every species of reform.*

DYSART, *burgh, Scotland.* The united burghs of Dysart, Kircaldy, Kinghorn, and Bruntisland return one member to parliament. The earl of Rosslyn has considerable influence.

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LOWTHER, *sir* J. (32, *Grosvenor Square*). *Brother to the earl of Lonsdale, and brother-in-law to the earl of Westmoreland. He opposes every motion for retrenchment or reform.*

.....

LOWTHER, *viscount*, (14, *A. Albany*).

LOWTHER, *hon.* H. C. (31, *Bruton Street*). *These are sons to the earl of Lonsdale. The latter is brother-in-law to lord Harborough, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army: the former has filled several offices under former ministries, and is lieutenant-colonel of the Westmoreland militia. They are both to be found in the ranks of intolerance and corruption—opposing every liberal and just measure.*

.....

LUMLEY, J. S. (95, *Park Street*). *Nephew to the earl of Scarborough, and an avowed radical reformer.*

CUMBERLAND. See GRAHAM, p. 26.

WESTMORELAND, *county*. This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I., but is as completely under the control of that prince of boroughmongers—the earl of Lonsdale—as the closest of his close boroughs. Several attempts have been made to open it, but they have proved ineffectual!

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I. The representation has not been contested since 1722, when the whigs gained the election. The freeholders who polled were 2,600 and 2,760. Latterly it has generally been represented by a whig and a tory, each of them nominated by a few of the great families of the Parkery and Dukery, as the north of the county is called, from the number of noblemen's seats. In 1826, on the retirement of lord W. Bentinck, Mr. Lumley came forward as a radical reformer, and was unopposed. The freeholders are about 6,000. The majority of them live within six miles of

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Nottingham, and have very much increased in number in late years, by the new villages created by the hosiery and lace trades. A great part of the north country is copyhold. With proper organization, the reformers might return both members, almost cost free. The shire hall, Nottingham, is the place of election; the forest north of the town is the place of polling.

.....

LUSHINGTON, J. L. *(13, York Street). Brother to S. R. Lushington, who is governor of Madras, and a pensioner. He is an East India director, a colonel in the Indian army, and the nominee of the Lowthers. He has voted against every popular question.*

CARLISLE. See HOWARD, p. 282.

.....

LUTTRELL, F. J. *This is a descendant of the noble family of Carhampton, and is brother to H. F. Luttrell, (commissioner of audit), and an anti-reformer.*

MINEHEAD, *Somersetshire.* This borough has returned two members since 5, Elizabeth, the right of election being in the parishioners of Minehead and Dunster, who are housekeepers within the borough of Minehead, and not receiving alms. The property belongs to Mr. Luttrell, who nominates himself and the other member.

.....

LYGON, H. B. *(16, Grosvenor Square). Brother to the earl of Beauchamp, son-in-law to the earl of St. Germains, and a colonel in the army. He votes against every species of reform, financial and representative.*

WORCESTER, *county.* See FOLEY, p. 255.

.....

LYON, D. *(34, Grosvenor Street). A new member, returned in the place*

BEERALSTON. See BLACKETT, p. 165.

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of lord Lovaine. He is a son of the late rich West India merchant, and an anti-reformer.

.....

LYONS, W. *A new member, returned in the place of Mr. Ellis. His first act was to vote against the reform bill.*

SEAFORD. See FITZGERALD, p. 251.

.....

MABERLY, J. *(1, John Street, Berkley Square). This gentleman was formerly an army contractor. He is one of the "small note men," but has spoken and voted in favour of most of the popular questions submitted to parliament. His son is surveyor-general of the ordnance.*

ABINGDON, *Berkshire.* This is a corporate town, and has returned a member since 2, Edward III., the right of election being in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms—about 400, in number. It is one of the few open boroughs in the kingdom, but an election is attended with great expense.

.....

MACAULEY, T. B. *(8, South Square, Gray's Inn). This gentleman is a barrister, and enjoys a deservedly high reputation, as a philanthropist, a writer, and a member of parliament. Some of the best articles, which have recently appeared in the Edinburgh Review, have been from his pen—we will say nothing of the utilitarian coutroversy—and his anonymously-published tracts, &c. in favour of an abolition of negro slavery,*

CALNE, *Wiltshire.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., with some intermissions. A committee of the house of commons decided, many years since, that the right of election was only in the burgage-tenures, limited to 24 or 26 persons, under the immediate control of the marquis of Lansdowne. An attempt was made to open it at the last election, but it failed, in consequence of the committee deferring to the judgment of Mr. W. Wynne, who de-

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have done much to produce the present strong feeling against that abominable system. His speech on lord John Russell's reform bill was a fine piece of parliamentary oratory, and the house was electrified by its delivery. He has voted well upon all occasions since he has been in parliament, and we may safely predict that he will, at no distant period, appear as a distinguished statesman.

.....

MACDONALD, *sir* J. *Nephew to the marquis of Stafford, commissioner of the board of control, and clerk to the lord privy seal—a sinecure. He is a liberal member, notwithstanding.*

CALNE. See above.

.....

MACKILLOP, J. *(4, Montague Square). An East India agent and proprietor. He is a new member, and voted against sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list, and lord John Russell's on reform.*

TREGONY. See GORDON, p. 261.

.....

MACKINNON, C. *(10, York Place). An East India proprietor, and an anti-reformer.*

IPSWICH. See DUNDAS, p. 242.

.....

MACKINTOSH, *sir* J. *(5, Maddox Street). If the industry and application of this member, in the discharge of his parliamentary duties, were equal to his knowledge and talents, we could scarcely speak of him in terms of extravagant praise. He was* 5

KNARESBOROUGH, *Yorkshire.* This borough has returned two members since 1, Mary, but the inhabitants have no more to do with the elections than with the government of China. The right of voting is in about 80 burgage-holds, belonging to the duke of Devonshire,

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years recorder of Bombay, to which situation he was promoted by Mr. Pitt, and retired with a pension of 1,200*l. a-year for life from the East India company. A minute analysis of the complex character of sir James would require too much space, and the general outlines of his public and parliamentary career have been too often described to need repetition: he is apparently falling into the "sear and yellow leaf," and, latterly, has not spoken much in the house. In his speeches, however, he professes the general principles of liberty with pristine ardour. He is now a commissioner of the board of control, and does not fail to reach the house upon great public questions being discussed.*

who returns both the members, by conveying the tenements to some of his friends and dependents, for the day.

.....

M'CLINTOCK, J. *Ex-sergeant at-arms of the Irish house of commons, with a pension of* 2,500*l. a-year. He is "an orange papist"—an ultra and intolerant protestant, who was brought into parliament upon the late government influence. It is scarcely necessary to add, that he votes against all retrenchment and reform.*

LOUTH. See DAWSON, p. 230.

.....

MACNAMARA, W. N. *A new member, who has voted well since he has been in the house. He is a major in the army, and a celebrated duellist.*

CLARE, *county, Ireland.* To the brave, though unfortunate freeholders of this county, may be attributed, in a very high degree, the passing of the Catholic relief bill by the Wellington government. Their return of Mr. O'Connell to parliament brought the question to an immediate issue, and the hero of Waterloo

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had not sufficient nerve to hazard the consequences of further holding out against the people of Ireland, in their demands for constitutional rights. To the 40*s.* freeholders, especially, as the immediate agents, are the honours of having, at that particular time, effected the emancipation of the Roman catholics from their long and unjustly continued vassalage and degradation, and as a reward for their independence and valour, they were stripped of the elective franchise by the British house of commons! No matter; the time is not very far distant when they shall reap double honours. Mr. O'Connell, having given a pledge—under circumstances that it is not now worth while to repeat—that he would not oppose the return of Mr. O'Gorman Mahon for the county, at the next election, withdrew from Clare at the last dissolution of the parliament, and Mr. O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Macnamara, were returned. Mr. Mahon has subsequently been unseated, upon the ground of bribery and corruption, at the election, and the people of Clare have again covered themselves with honour, in returning Mr. Maurice O'Connell, son to the liberator, against sir Edward O'Brien.

.....

MAHON, *viscount*, (12, *Albemarle Street*). *Son to the earl of Stanhope. He is a new member, and has signalized himself by a speech against the reform bill.*

WOOTTON BASSET, *Wilts.* This is a small borough, containing about 1,100 inhabitants, mostly very poor, and has returned two members to parliament since 25, Henry VI. The right of election is in the freemen, about 100 in number, but Mr. Pitt, the member for Cricklade, and the earl of Clarendon, have the power of returning the members. There have been two or three contests in the borough, and 45 guineas were, upon such occasions, given for each vote. A seat has been sold for 4,000 guineas!

.....

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MAITLAND, *hon.* A. *(19, Bury Street, St. James'). Son to the earl of Lauderdale, and a captain in the navy. He votes against every description of reform.*

BERWICKSHIRE, *Scotland.* In 1793, the number of real voters in this county was only 66, while the number of nominal ones was 87.

.....

MAITLAND, *viscount.* *(1, Regent Street). Eldest son to the earl of Lauderdale, and brother to the preceding member, like whom he votes.*

APPLEBY, *Westmoreland.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since the reign of Edward I. The right of election is in about 100 burgage-tenures, which belong to the earls of Lonsdale and Thanet, who return, in consequence, both the members.

.....

MAJORIBANKS, S. *An East India proprietor, and a large ship owner. He is an independent and valuable member.*

HYTHE. See LOCH, p. 315.

.....

MALCOLM, N. *(1, Princess Street, Hanover Sq.) A merchant, and also an East India and West India proprietor. He votes against reform.*

BOSTON, *Lincolnshire.* This is a corporate town, and did not return members till the reign of Edward IV. The franchise vests in the corporation and resident freemen, paying scot and lot, in number about 400. The influence of returning the members was for a long time possessed by the corporation, but the borough has, within the last few years, been opened: i. e. the freemen, instead of permitting the corporation to dictate to them, carry their votes to the best market.

.....

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MANDEVILLE, *viscount. Son to the duke of Manchester, and a commander in the navy. He voted against the catholic claims, and now against the reform bill.*

HUNTINGDONSHIRE, *county.* The house of Montague has enjoyed considerable influence in this county for nearly a century. The duke of Manchester is lord lieutenant and custos-rotulorum.

.....

MANNERS, *lord* R. *(28, Sackville Street). Brother to the duke of Rutland, cousin to the speaker of the house of commons, and also to lord Manners, a retired Irish chancellor, with a pension of* 3,692*l. He is a major general in the army, a lieutenant colonel of dragoons, and a firm anti-reformer.*

LEICESTERSHIRE, *county.* See KECK, p.

.....

MARRYATT, J. *(6, Richmond Terrace). A West India proprietor. He voted against inquiry into the civil list, but in favour of the reform bill, that he may oppose it in the committee!*

SANDWICH, *Kent.* This is one of the cinque ports, and has therefore returned members since 42, Edward III. The patronage of it is in the admiralty, but at the last election it was unsuccessful. The cost of an uncontested, election is from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.*: in case of an opposition from the latter sum to 5000*l.* for each candidate. The number of voters is about 1000, of whom about 650 are non-resident.

.....

MARSHALL, W. *(34, Hill Street). This gentleman is a manufacturer, we believe, and his votes have been exemplary.*

LEOMINSTER. See HOTHAM, p. 282.

.....

MARTIN, J. *A banker, and an East India proprie-*

TEWKESBURY. See DOWDESWELL, p. 236.

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tor, who has uniformly voted in favour of retrenchment and reform.

.....

MARTIN, *sir* T. B. *(8, Somerset Place). Comptroller of the navy, and an admiral of the line. He has uniformly voted against retrenchment and reform, but now supports the reform bill, as a member of the government.* PLYMOUTH. See COCKBURN, p. 216.

.....

MAULE, *hon.* W. *(9, Cornwall Terrace). Brother of the earl of Dalhousie (who is a colonel in chief in India), and has two other brothers in the army. He very seldom attends, but voted for the reform bill.* FORFAR, *county, Scotland.* The number of real voters in this county is not more than 71: the nominal are 24; but Mr. Maule has sufficient influence to return himself.

.....

MAXWELL, H. *Nephew to lord Farnham. He votes against reform.* CAVAN, *county, Ireland.*

.....

METNELL, H. *(35, Grosvenor Street). Cousin to the marquis of Hertford, a captain in the navy, and an opponent to every liberal measure.* LISBURNE, *borough, Ireland.* The elective franchise vests in the corporation alone who are under the influence, of the marquis of Hertford.

.....

MILBANK, M. *Son-in-law to the marquis of Cleveland, and not one of the worst nominees of the peerage in the house of commons. He has voted for the reform bill.* CAMELFORD. See CRADOCK, p. 225.

.....

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MILDMAY, P. St. J. (82, *Piccadilly*). *A merchant.* WINCHESTER. See EAST, p. 243.

He attends very badly, and the only liberal questions upon which we can find him voting, are catholic emancipation, and lord John Russell's bill. He formerly voted against the marquis of Blandford's motion on reform.

.....

MILES, P. J. (7, *Hamilton Place*). *A banker and a West India proprietor.* CORFE CASTLE. See BANKES, p. 146.

He votes against reform, and is a regular tory hack.

.....

MILES, W. *An anti-reformer.* NEW ROMNEY, *Kent.* This is one of the cinque ports, and returns two members, the right of election being in the mayor, jurats, and freemen—about 150 in number. Sir Edward Dering, the member for Wexford, has, by a very simple method, possessed himself of an influence in this port, not easily to be rendered insecure. His property in the neighbourhood is tenanted out, *without lease*, at *very easy* rents, to the electors, who, feeling that gratitude which never fails to inspire those immediately interested in the present possession of a good thing, could not be so ungenerous as to oppose the inclination of a passive landlord, in so *trifling* a concern as that of the election of a member of parliament.

.....

MILLER, W. H. *A new member, who has walked into the house to oppose reform.* NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYNE. See BORRADAILE, p. 175.

.....

MONTEITH, H. *A merchant, who is of opinion that neither retrenchment nor reform are necessary.* LANARK, *burgh, Scotland.* The burghs of Lanark, Peebles, Linlithgow, and Selkirk, unitedly send one member to parliament.

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MONTGOMERY, *sir* G. *This is a new member. He was absent on the division on the second reading of the reform bill; but voted against ministers on gen. Gascoyne's motion. He is father-in-law, we believe, to Middlesex.*

PEEBLES, *county, Scotland.* This is the smallest county in Scotland, except Sutherland. The number of real voters is about 35, under the influence of the duke of Buccleugh.

Mr. Byng, the member for

.....

MORE, G. *A barrister, and deputy registrar in Ireland. He is intolerant in religion, and illiberal in politics. He votes, therefore, against all motions for reform.*

DUBLIN, *city, Ireland.* The corporation in this city, as in most corporate towns, have the sole power in the return of the members, as they can create voters as they please. In Dublin, the corporation consists of 113 persons, 41 of whom have been bankrupts, or declared insolvents!

.....

MORGAN, *sir* C. (70, *Pall Mall*). *This member is husband to the celebrated lady Morgan, and father-in-law to lord Rodney. He voted against the repeal of the test and corporation acts, and the catholic disabilites, as well as against the marquis of Blandford's reform bill. He is in the majority on lord John Russell's bill, though it is not likely that he approves of the details of the measure.*

MONMOUTHSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 27, Henry VIII. The family of sir Charles Morgan have long had the power to return one member, and the duke of Beaufort, who is lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county, the other.

.....

MORGAN, C. M. R. *Son to the preceding member, and son-in-law to general*

BRECON, *town, Brecknockshire, South Wales.* This town has a corporation and

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Mudy. He does not often vote, even on important questions, but when he has done so, it has been against the people. He follows his father, on the reform bill.

separate jurisdiction, and first sent a member to parliament in the first year of Henry VIII. The right of voting is in the corporation and resident free burgesses, about 300 in number, under the direct influence of the proprietary patron—sir C. Morgan, father to the sitting member.

.....

MORPETH, *viscount, Son to the earl of Carlisle, and nephew to the duke of Devonshire. He is a liberal and intelligent member, and has always spoken and voted well.*

YORKSHIRE. See BETHEL, p. 164.

.....

MOSTYN, *sir* T. *(14, Park Place, St. James'). It is to be regretted that the attendance of this member is very bad, even upon the most particular occasions. When he does vote, however, as in the case of the reform bill, it is well.*

FLINTSHIRE, *Wales.* Sir Thomas Mostyn has represented this county in the last eight parliaments, and his father, the late sir Roger Mostyn, in the eight preceding ones; his ancestors, with only five exceptions, have been members for the last 125 years; a convincing proof that this family possess the commanding interest in the county.

.....

MOUNTCHARLES, *lord, (15, Great Stanhope St). Son to the marquis of Conyngham, son-in-law to the marquis of Anglesea, father-in-law to lord Strathaven, a major in the army, and first groom of the bedchamber, and master of the robes to the late king. He has, during the discussion on*

DONEGALL, *county, Ireland.* See HART, p. 275.

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the reform bill, declared that he now thinks *some reform must be granted, but objects to the ministerial measure, as going too far. He voted for the second reading, but will not support it in the committee, unless greatly modified.*

.....

MORRISON, J. *(Fore Street). This member is a wholesale haberdasher and silkman, and one of the largest monopolists in the kingdom. He is, however, a man of liberal sentiments, and a useful member.*

ST. IVES, *borough, Cornwall.* This is a small corporate town, and has returned two members since 6, Mary. The right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, about 200 in number, under the control of Mr. Wellesley, one of the members. The manor, which enjoys the right of tithe on the pilchard fishery, was the property of the late borough-monger and jobber—sir C. Hawkins, and has recently been purchased, for a large sum, by Mr. Long Wellesley. The possession of this gives the power of returning the members, as the payment of the tithe is never enforced, except on the approach of an election, when the poor fishermen readily give their votes to obtain a release. Mr. Wellesley returns himself, and Mr. Morrison, who is said to be the mortgagee!

.....

MORRISON, J. (16, *New Burlington Street). A merchant. He has not voted on the reform bill—but voted against inquiry into the civil list. He very seldom attends.*

BANFFSHIRE, *Scotland.* The number of voters in this county is about 22. The earl of Fife has the preponderant influence.

.....

MUNDY, F. *(44, Queen-Anne Street). A thick and thin tory, whose votes are uniformly bad.*

DERBYSHIRE. See CAVENDISH, p. 210.

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MURRAY, sir G. *(5, Bellgrave Square). Brother to sir P. Murray (who is son-in-law to lord Hopetoun), and ex-secretary for the colonies. His military pay amounts to nearly 2,500l. a-year, and his wife has a pension of 600l. He is one of the Wellington troop, and opposes all kinds of reform.*

PERTHSHIRE, *Scotland.* The number of freeholders is about 20! The duke of Atholl has the power to return the member.

.....

NEELD, J. *(6, Grosvenor Square). A retired solicitor, who formerly represented Gatton. He seldom attends, but got down to the house to vote against the reform bill.*

CHIPPENHAM, *Wilts.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members since Edward I. The right of election is in the occupiers of about 130 burgage tenements, a sufficient number of which belongs to Mr. Neeld to enable him to return himself and the other member.

.....

NEWARK, *viscount. Son to the earl of Manners. He is a new member, and voted for sir H. Parnell's and lord John Russell's motions. Upon the reform bill, he said, "It strikes me that it is too destructive of what are termed nomination boroughs; but, if I am reduced to the alternative of adopting this bill, with all its provisions, or to that of having no reform at all, my warm support shall be given to this bill, without desiring one single letter to be altered."*

BASSETLAW. See DUNCOMBE, p. 241.

.....

NEWPORT, *sir* J. *(40, St. James' Place). This member was formerly a*

WATERFORD, *city, Ireland.* The elective franchise in this borough is in the corpora-

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banker, and also chancellor of the Irish exchequer, during the whig administration in 1806. *He is distinguished for his inflexible patriotism, and for his persevering efforts to remedy some of the monstrous abuses in the Irish church.*

tion and freeholders—about 1300 in number.

.....

NICHOLL, *sir* J. *(*26, *Bruton Street). Judge of the arches and prerogative courts of Canterbury, at about* 3,350*l. a year. He votes against retrenchment and reform.*

GREAT BEDWIN. See BUXTON, p, 198.

.....

NOEL, *sir* G. N. *(Chandos Street, Cavendish Sq). Father to lord Barham. He has two sons in the church, and one in the navy, all of whom are men of great worth and excellence of character. Sir Gerard is no reformer, though he has permitted himself to be led into the majority for the reform bill.*

RUTLANDSHIRE. See HEATHCOTE, p. 277.

.....

NORREYS, *lord. Son to the earl of Abingdon. He is a new member, and votes against reform.*

OXFORDSHIRE. See FANE, p. 250.

.....

NORTH, J. H. *Judge of the admiralty court for Ireland. An illiberal and anti-reforming member, whose fierce and malignant attack upon Mr. O'Connell procured for him, from Mr. Hume, the appellation of the Bull-frog.*

DROGHEDA, *town, Ireland.*

.....

NUGENT, *lord,* (34, *Park Street). Brother to the duke of Buckingham, ne-*

AYLESBURY, *Bucks.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members

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phew to lord Grenville, and a lord commissioner of the treasury. He is a liberal whig, and has always voted for reform.

since 2 of Queen Mary.—It was under the absolute influence of the marquis of Buckingham, till 1804, when a violent contest took place, in which the bribery and corruption were so flagitious, that a committee of the house of commons decided against the return of one of the members, and the house extended the right of voting to the hundred, when the influence was contested between the marquis of Buckingham and lord George Cavendish. It has now asserted its independence, however, in the return of Mr. Rickman, the other member, and it is probably one of the least corrupt places in the kingdom.

.....

NUGENT, *sir G. Cousin to the duke of Buckingham, a general in the army, a colonel of foot, and governor of St. Mawes. He is a regular tory, and votes against financial and parliamentary reform.*

BUCKINGHAM. See FREEMANTLE, p. 258.

.....

O'BRIEN, W. S. *Son to sir Edward O'Brien, who was formerly member for Clare. He has not voted on the recent reform bill, but from his former opposition to all motions for reform, and his having said, in parliament, that the nomination boroughs were essential parts of the constitution, we are not at a great loss to discover his sentiments.*

ENNIS, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election vests in 13 burgesses, under the control of sir Edward O'Brien, and Vesey Fitzgerald.

.....

O'CONNELL, D. *(Merrion Square, Dublin). A barrister. The name of O'Con-*

WATERFORD. See BERESFORD, p. 160. Will not the brave fellows of the county

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nell is associated with the history of Ireland for nearly thirty years. It was about the year 1805, *that Mr. O'Connell began to assume a prominent part in the political affairs of his country; and the antiquity of his family, and the nature of his profession, gave him considerable influence at this early stage of his career. In the year* 1806, *he raised that legal objection to the interchange of the English and Irish militia, which occasioned the expulsion of the whig ministry. The Percival administration succeeded, the convention act was brought into operation, and a persecution of the Irish people and press commenced. To the defence of those who became the objects of persecution, among whom were doctor Sheridan and Mr. Kirwan, Mr. O'Connell gave the aid of his powerful talents.*

of Waterford throw off lord George Beresford at the next election?

In the year 1813, *the late Mr. Canning brought forward a catholic relief bill; and to make it more palatable to the people of Ireland, it purported to have the sanction of the late Mr. Grattan. At this period, the pope was imprisoned by Buonaparte, and the ecclesiastical affairs of the see of Rome were entrusted to an ecclesiastic named Quarentotti, who was induced, by the intrigue of Castlereagh, to issue a rescript, recommending the Irish catholics to accept the relief which was proposed by the British legislature. Some of the dignitaries of the Irish catholic church approved of the rescript; but Mr. O'Connell denounced the whole affair as a machination against the liberty of Ireland, and declared that "even degraded as they then were, they would not bow to the mandate of "an Italian slave;" Ireland was thus divided into two parties; but the zealous and consistent support which Mr. O'Connell gave to the side of popular liberty, completely won for him the affection and confidence of the Irish people. It was in this divided state of public opinion that Castlereagh*

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attempted to carry into effect his proposed measure. The priests and the people adhered to Mr. O'Connell, while many of the catholic bishops, with the aristocracy and their mercenaries, took their station on the side of the government. With varieties of such opposition, Mr. O'Connell kept battling for his countrymen from the above period to 1823, *when he originated the catholic association, which became an omnipotent agent in the cause of emancipation. Such was the power possessed by this body, that it took the administration out of the hands of the government. It had its parliament, its exchequer, its committees, its correspondents, and all the apparatus of a regularly-established legislature and executive. In* 1829, *the grand result to which Mr. O'Connell's life had been directed, was attained; the relief bill was passed, and he took his seat in parliament on the 4th of February,* 1829, *as member for the county of Clare, for which he had been returned, previously to the passing of the bill, but which his personal enemies succeeded in so constructing as to exclude him. He was again triumphantly returned.*

With his brief parliamentary career most of our readers will be familiar. Although he has not been able to effect much, in consequence of the vitiated constitution of the house, he has brought forward several excellent motions, and has always advocated the cause of the English, as well as of the Irish people. His speeches, if they failed to influence obdurate corruption, produced a strong effect upon the country at large, though the reporters have invariably taken care that they should not be fairly represented. More recently, in the recess of parliament, he was prosecuted for evading *certain proclamations, which the lord lieutenant thought it fit and becoming to issue, for the prevention of meetings, where the repeal of the union was proposed to be discussed. But after the trial had proceeded a few days, the agitation of Ireland became so great, that the government were alarmed for the consequences likely to result; and Mr.*

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O'Connell perceiving that a jury was empannelled, whose prejudices would prevent them from returning a fair verdict, a mutual suspension of hostilities seemed to be agreed to. Mr. O'Connell's speech on the reform bill, was regarded as the best which was delivered in the course of the debate. He combined, in admirable proportions, the argumentative, the interesting, and the humourous ; and his oration was received with the greatest attention, and rewarded with the most fervent applause.

Like all men who have spurned the beaten path of tameness and corruption, Mr. O'Connell has received endless insults, and endured calumny in a variety of forms. His motives have been misrepresented by the malice of political enemies, and he has been held forth as a disturber of the peace and happiness of that country to the service of which his whole life has been consistently and zealously devoted. But we may surely judge of the tree by its fruits. To his great exertions and indomitable perseverance must, unquestionably, be attributed the destruction of catholic disabilities, and the removal of a foul stain on the civilized character of the united kingdom. There were, indeed, others who conduced to this grand result ; but they, when compared with Mr. O'Connell, can only be regarded as subordinate auxiliaries. It was by his single influence that the energies of Ireland were roused from torpor, and combined in vitality. He created and sustained a fervour and unanimity of the popular mind which the world had never before witnessed ; and, under his guidance, the force of this mighty element achieved a triumph of religious freedom which will never be forgotten. In conclusion, it may be said, that the history of nations does not supply an instance of an individual whose single exertions, without bloodshed or confusion, ever effected the good which has been accomplished by Mr. O'Connell. But his power to accomplish public benefit is not confined to the redress of political grievances. His abilities as a lawyer, and his honesty as a

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man, render him peculiarly adapted to prosecute an extensive reform in civil judicature. The corrupt and mysterious enactments which still disgrace the statute book, afford an ample field for the purifying exercise of his extensive legal knowledge, and the acuteness of penetration which he has constantly displayed. In the capacity of a reformer of our jurisprudence, the services of Mr. O'Connell must certainly be desired by the public; for in the house of commons there is no man so calculated to effect the much-required reformation. The removal of Mr. Brougham created a vacuity which no present member can supply but the member for Waterford.

.....

O'CONNOR, O. *This gentleman descends in a direct line from the Milesian kings, and partakes of the views and feelings of the old aristocracy. Events, however, have forced him along in the rank of the reformers, since his return to parliament. He has voted for the reform bill.* ROSCOMMON. See FRENCH, p. 258.

.....

O'FERRALL, R. M. *A catholic barrister. We do not know that he has spoken in the house; but he voted for the motions of sir H. Parnell, and lord John Russell.* KILDARE. See FITZGERALD, p. 253.

.....

OGLE, *sir* C. *(4, Belgrave Square). Brother-in-law to lord Dacre. A vice-admiral in the navy, and commander-in-chief at Halifax* (2190*l.*). *He votes against reform.* PORTARLINGTON, *borough. Ireland.* This borough is in Queen's county. The right of voting vests in 15 burgesses, who are under the control of the earl of Portarlington.

.....

O'GRADY, S. (11, *Queen Street, May Fair). Son* LIMERICK, *county, Ireland.*

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B. Paget (a commissioner of the excise), and a lieutenant colonel in the army. His attendance has been so bad, that he has voted scarcely upon any question lately, but the bill of lord John Russell, where he was in the majority. We believe he is a liberal member, and it is therefore to be regretted that he does not attend better.

.....

O'HARA, J. *Son to the recorder of the town for which he sits, and a bigotted orangeman. He has formerly voted against reform, but is in the majority on lord John Russell's motion. He is no reformer, however, for all that.*

GALWAY, *town, Ireland.* The united interests of Mr. James Daly, and the recorder of the borough, secures the return of the member. In November last, Mr. Leader presented a petition from the inhabitants, praying for an amendment of the elective franchise, in which it was stated, that the right of voting was at present in the hands of an absentee peasantry, amounting to about 2,000, to the exclusion of the Roman catholics, who could not become freemen, from the want of protestant freemen, to whom they might serve an apprenticeship. This is one of the close boroughs in which a self-elected corporation exclude from the freedom of the city all but their own partizans or dependents.

.....

O'NEILL, *hon.* J. B. R. *Brother to earl O'Neill, a major general in the army, and governor of Dublin castle. He seldom attends, voted against the catholics, but has not opposed the reform bill.*

ANTRIM. See BELFAST, p. 155.

.....

ORD. W. *(7, Berkley Square). Brother-in-law to the countess of Oxford. He is an honest member, and votes well.*

MORPETH. See HOWARD, p. 283.

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OSBORNE, *lord.* F. G. *Brother to the duke of Leeds, and brother-in-law to lord Auckland. He voted against the transfer of the franchise from Retford to Birmingham, but for the second reading of lord John Russell's bill!*

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. See ADEANE, p. 120.

.....

OSSORY, *earl, Son to the marquis of Ormond. He is a new member, and has voted for the reform bill, though he did not vote on the civil list.*

KILKENNY, *county, Ireland.*

.....

OWEN, *sir* J. *This gentleman is lord lieutenant of Montgomeryshire, and his son is married to one of the daughters of sir C. Morgan. He votes against every description of reform.*

PEMBROKESHIRE, *Wales.* This is one of the twelve Welsh counties empowered to return members in 27, Henry VIII. It is very small, and sends one member to parliament.

.....

OWEN, H. O. *Son to the preceding member, we believe, and, like him, voting against reform.*

PEMBROKE, *town, Wales.* This town has returned two members since 27, Henry VIII., the right of election being in the burgesses of Pembroke, Tenby, and Wiston—about 500 in number.

.....

OXMANTOWN, *lord. Son to the earl of Rosse, (governor of King's county), and formerly joint secretary to the Irish post office. He voted against Mr. O'Connell's motion for a general reform—that is, against the* principle *of reform, though he is found in the majority on the bill of lord John Russell!*

KING'S COUNTY, *Ireland.* See BERNARD, p. 163.

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PALK, *sir* L. V. *Joint proprietor, with lord Clinton, of the borough he represents. He votes against retenchment and reform.*

ASHBURTON. See ARBUTHNOT, p. 125.

.....

PALMER, C. *A major-general in the army. He has always voted well.*

BATH, *Somersetshire.* This city has returned two members since 23, Edward I. with some intermissions. Although it contains a population of 50,000, the right of voting is restricted to the mayor, aldermen, and common council—about 30 in number, who fill up all vacancies among themselves, without any participation on the part of the inhabitants. The corporation has been, for many years, attached to the interests of the marquis of Bath and earl Camden, but general Palmer succeeded, by his popularity, in throwing out the grandson of lord Camden—the earl of Brecknock.

.....

PALMER, R. *(6, Charles St. Berkley Square). This member had always voted against reform, except for the transfer of the franchise from Retford to Birmingham, until the division on lord John Russell's bill. But although he was in the majority, on the second reading of the bill, he purposed to oppose it in the committee. He must not again be returned. At the last election, he said, he was ready to remove practical corruption whenever it was detected, and he should also wish the right of election to be removed from all corrupt boroughs, to the present commercial towns which were now without it. As to radical reform, he thought it led to universal confusion; and the voting by ballot would destroy the independent character of the English yeoman, who always wished to meet his representative face to face, and not to sneak into a corner to steal a piece of paper into a box, as a record of his sentiments. He*

BERKSHIRE. See DUNDAS, p. 241.

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was, therefore, a moderate reformer, but an objector to extensive innovation.

.....

PALMER, C. F. *Brother-in-law to the duke of Gordon* (see Peep). *His wife has received a pension of* 184*l. since* 1801., *but he has always supported popular questions, and voted well.*

READING, *Berks.* The right of election in this corporate borough (23, Edward I.), is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, about 700 in number. It is free from aristocratic rule, and the corporation and money return the member.

.....

PALMERSTON, *viscount,* (9, *Great Stanhope Street*). *An Irish baron, brother to hon. W. Temple (secretary to the embassy at Petersburg). He is secretary for foreign affairs* (6,000*l*). *He has generally voted for* moderate reform, *and, of course, supports, as a member of the government, the great measure, although it is manifest from some parts of the speech he delivered during the debate, that he would like it much better were it less comprehensive.*

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. See CAVENDISH, p. 211.

.....

PARNELL, *sir* H. (89, *Jermyn Street*). *Sir H. Parnell is not, at the moment we write this, a member of parliament. Having accepted office, as secretary at war, he vacates his seat, but as he is certain of being re-elected, we have thought it right to retain his name. He is brother-in-law to viscount Portarlington, and an able, industrious, liberal, and efficient member of parliament. It was upon his motion for a committee of inquiry into the civil list, that the Wellington cabinet was broken up, and it excited considerable surprise that the new ministry should have been completed without him. Since his friends have*

QUEEN'S COUNTY, *Ireland.* See COOTE, p. 223.

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come into office, he has, upon more than one occasion, expressed his dissatisfaction with their measures, relative to the amount of reductions in the expenditure, which he thinks should have gone further than they did. We regard, with high satisfaction, his introduction into the government.

.....

PATTEN, J. W. *A new member. He voted for inquiry into the civil list, and also for reform.*

LANCASHIRE. This county sent two members, 22, Edward I.; but in several subsequent parliaments, till Henry VI., the returns from the sheriff were, that there were no citizens or burgesses proper to send to parliament, by reason of their property. The earl of Derby has the power of returning one member—now his son, lord Stanley.

.....

PAUL, *sir* H. St. *A count of the holy Roman empire, and a colonel in the army. He votes against all liberal measures.*

BRIDPORT, *Dorset.* This is a seaport, corporate borough, and market town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of voting is in the corporation and householders paying scot and lot, about 340 in number. Mr. Warburton is returned by the influence of the corporation, and sir H. St. Paul by the church party. The *Spectator* states, that the voters, when there is no contest, are paid 10*l.* each for both members; but when the election is contested, the price is from 20*l.* to 30*l.* The voters in general are averse to sir H Paul, but cannot find *so good* a man to take his place They look upon the douceur so completely as a *quid pro quo*, that after sir E. Nepean had been for some years since returned for the borough, a vote, called on the baronet for the customary 20*l.* for his vote; which being refused, the voter replied, "Then be damned if I don't arrest you for it." The payment of the consideration is commonly effected

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in this manner:—about two years after the election, the members send down the money to their respective attornies, who inclose the 10*l.* note to the voter in a letter which he receives through the medium of the Bridport post-office. Until a few years ago, the corporation returned both members; but on a contest taking place, the speaker's warrant was issued for the production of the corporation documents; in consequence of which, they came to an agreement with the church party (their former opponents), who have ever since been allowed to return one of the members—to preserve the peace of the town.

.....

PEACH, N. W. (13, *Saville Street.*) *A decided anti-reformer.*

TRURO. See ENCOMBE. p. 245.

.....

PEARSE, J. (4 *Craig's Court, Charing Cross.*) *A tailor, and an illiberal man. He votes against all reform.*

DEVIZES, *Wilts.* This is a corporate town, with a separate jurisdiction, and has returned two members since 4, Edward III. with some interruptions. The right of election is restricted to the mayor and select burgesses, about 40 in number. Mr. Pearse is the representative of the corporation, and Mr. Taylor, the other member, returns himself, by the influence he commands in virtue of a large estate in the neighbourhood.

.....

PECHELL, *sir* J. (*Admiralty*). *A captain in the navy, and a lord of the admiralty. He is a new member, and voted against sir H. Parnell's motion. He was not present at the division on the reform bill, but voted against General Gascoyne's motion.*

HELSTON. *Cornwall.* This is a corporate borough, and first sent members 23 Edward I. The right of election vests in the corporation, only 36 in number, under the patronage of the duke of Leeds, who returns both the members,

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PEEL, *sir* R. *Sir Robert has always been regarded as a very tiny statesman, and in this capacity he has effected some praiseworthy reforms in our criminal laws. His mind is of very limited capacity, and wholly unable to comprehend great and intricate questions of law, jurisprudence, or commerce, whence he never ventured beyond the repression of some of those glaring anomalies and frightful deformities in the statute-book, which were known to be deprecated by all the world. As a member of parliament he is industrious and persevering, but some of his most laboured speeches have exhibited such an intolerable quantity of common place stuff, conceit, and affected candour, as to disgust even his best friends. His conduct with reference to catholic emancipation, earned for him the contempt of the high tory party to whom he belonged, and the course he has subsequently pursued with reference to the reform bill, ha for ever damned his character in the estimation of al honest men.*

TAMWORTH. *Staffordshire.* The right of election in this borough, conferred 5 Eliz., is in the inhabitant householders, paying scot and lot, about 300 in number. The late sir R. Peel purchased a large property here, and opened a manufactory, by which means he gained the return of one member. His object was to nominate both, but he failed, Lord Ferrars Townsend holding sufficient property to command one seat. The late baronet's property having succeeded to the present one, he returns himself, as does also lord Townsend.

.....

PEEL, W. Y. *(12, Devonshire Place). Brother to the ex-secretary, and a shallow-headed and illiberal man. During the discus-*

YARMOUTH. *Isle of Wight.* This borough contains about 600 inhabitants, but has returned two members since 23 Edward I. The right of

sion on the reform bill, the member for Yarmouth, referring to something that had fallen from Mr. Hunt, attempted to be witty by remarking, that if the present measure passed, members would by and by come down to the house, and call for "Hunt's matchless." The member for Preston, who is always ready with a retort, replied, "The only difference between the honourable member and myself is this, his father was the first man of his family who was a gentleman, my father was the first gentleman of the family who was a tradesman." The member for Yarmouth has six months allowed to concoct a set-off. Mr. Hunt was right. The father of the Peels began life in a very humble sphere, as a calico printer, but realized an immense fortune in consequence of the war. He was a strenuous supporter of the Pitt system, and in 1797, *his firm subscribed* 10,000*l. for the prosecution of the war, so profitable to his business. He was made a baronet for his* election is in the mayor, and capital and free burgesses, about 50 in number, the corporation being nominated, and the free burgesses admitted under the exclusive direction of the Holmes' family. The influence over the corporation was for many years contested between the late lord Holmes and the late Jervoise Clark Jervoise, esq., and the Leigh family, of North Court, in the island, of which Mr. Jervoise's lady was a part. A compromise, however, took place, by which it was stipulated, that a great number of free burgesses, then newly made, should be disfranchised, that each party should thenceforth name one member, and to keep the interest even, whenever a capital burgess, should die, the side to which he belonged should immediately nominate another person to be a free burgess, and then make him capital, as the charter prescribes. This compromise continued from the year 1768, till the general election in 1812, and each party returned a member. After the death of Mr. Jervoise, the late Sir Henry

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public services (!) and represented the borough of Tamworth in parliament. Worsley Holmes purchased the interest of his successor, and his son now nominates both members.

.....

PELHAM, *hon.* C. *Son of lord Yarborough. A new member. He did not vote for inquiry into the civil list, though he is in the majority on the reform bill.* NEWTON. *Isle of Wight.* See GURNEY, p. 271.

.....

PELHAM, J. C. *(Warren's Hotel). An idle member, but managed to reach the house to vote against the reform bill.* SHROPSHIRE. See HILL, p. 268.

.....

PENDARVES, E. W. *(36, Eaton Place). A liberal member, who supported the reform bill, in opposition to his colleague. Sir R. Vyvyan.* CORNWALL. This small county, with its boroughs, returns no fewer than 44 members to parliament; but it will lose 32 of them by the proposed reform. The county has sent two members to parliament since Edward I., and is free from any great aristocratic influence.

.....

PENRHYN, E. *This is one of the nominees of the earl of Grosvenor. He voted for the reform bill.* SHAFTESBURY. See DUGDALE, p. 237.

.....

PENEFATHER, M. *A brother, we believe to the chief baron of the Irish exchequer. He votes against reform. There are several Penefathers on the pension list.* CASHEL, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election vests in 26 burgesses, under the influence of the sitting member.

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PENRUDDOCKE, J. H. (35, *Curzon Street*). *An anti-reformer.*

.....

PERCEVAL, *right hon.* S. (85, *Pall Mall*). *Son to the chancellor of the exchequer, who was shot in the house of commons. He has the sinecure place of teller of the exchequer at* 2700*l. a-year, and his mother, who re-married, has a pension of* 2000*l. He strenuously opposes himself to parliamentary reform, and has recently distinguished himself upon two occasions in the house of commons:—first, by moving a* general *fast, for the purpose of filling the bellies of the agricultural labourers, and depleting those of his own order;—the second, by a furious attack on the public press, which he would have had punished for speaking of the boroughmongers in becoming terms of condemnation and contempt.*

.....

PETIT, H. L. (3, *Lincoln's Inn, New Square*). *A barrister, who seems to have a very singular head. He voted against the repeal of the test and corporation acts, and catholic disabili-*

WILTON. See BULWER, p. 129.

NEWPORT, *Isle of Wight.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I. with some intermissions, the right of election being in the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, about 24 in number. It is another of the patrimonial representative estates of the Holmes' family, who have for many years nominated the members. Some of the most flagrant cases of bribery have been, from time to time, brought to light in this borough, for which members have been expelled the house, and committed to the tower. This mode of proceeding with delinquent members, has gone out of fashion.

.....

RIPON, *borough.* This borough first returned members 23, Edward I., the right of election being vested in a number of burgage-holds belonging to Miss Lawrence, a near relative of Lord Gode-

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ties, but supported Mr. Grant's bill for the emancipation of the Jews; voted against the marquis of Blandford's and Mr. O'Connell's motions for reform, as well as against lord John Russell's motion for Manchester, Birmingham, &c. to have members, and yet appears in the majority on the great measure of reform. Can such a man possess any settled principles? Is he fit to have a seat in the legislature?

rich. It is under the management of the vice-chancellor, sir L. Shadwell.

.....

PHILLIPS, *sir* R. B. P. (58, *Portland Place*). *This member voted against the moderate reform involved in giving members to the large towns, although he voted with the majority for the recent reform bill!*

HAVERFORD, *Wales*. This is a corporate borough, and has returned a member since 27, Henry VIII. The right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot; formerly under the influence of lord Milford, but now under that of his cousin, the sitting member, who succeeded to his estates and baronetcy.

.....

PHILIPS, G. R. (12, *Hill Street, Berkley Square*). *Brother-in-law to lord Waterpark, and a member who has generally voted for reform, though his* penchant *is for "a moderate" change.*

STEYNING. See BLOUNT, p. 174.

.....

PHILPOTTS, J. *A barrister, and brother to the bishop of Exeter. He is a new member, and voted against inquiry into the civil list, but in favour of the second reading of the reform bill.*

GLOUCESTER, *city*. This is a corporate city, and has returned two members since 26, Edward I., the right of election being in the corporation and freemen, non-resident as well as resident—the former being about 1,300 and the latter about 700.

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Mr. Philpotts obtained his seat by spending about 18,000*l.*, in taking up freedoms, treating, &c. Colonel Webb, the other member, was returned upon the whig interest, which prevails in the corporation.

.....

PHIPPS, *hon.* E. (64, *Mount Street). Brother to earl Mulgrave (whose wife has a pension of* 800*l.), late clerk of the deliveries of ordnance, a general in the army, and a colonel of the* 60*th foot. He votes against reform.*

SCARBOROUGH, *Yorkshire.* This is a corporate borough, and has sent two members to parliament since 23, Edward I. The right of election is confined to the corporation and freemen, although the whole commonalty used to vote. The corporation is self-elected, and consists of 44 members. A correspondent of the *Spectator* says that he remembers 1,000*l.* being given for a single vote, to one who was prudent enough to keep back till the price grew high. At later periods, custom-house and excise places, commissions in the navy and army, and church preferments, have been the considerations. But these good things are gone; and it is said the members are chosen by the corporation, on their own merits; therefore Mr. Sutton, the speaker, is retained, but general Phipps could not resist the attack of a third candidate, *as he is now out of power, and the Mulgrave influence is gone.* Of the corporation, 7 have places, and are deprived of their votes, and 6 are incapacitated, by distance or extreme age, from exercising their privilege. The number of electors is thus reduced to 31.

.....

PIGOTT, G. W. *A colonel in the army, and an anti-reformer.*

ST. MAWES. See CARRINGTON, p. 208.

.....

PITT, J. *A retired attorney, and principal proprie-*

CRICKLADE. See GORDON, p. 261.

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tor of the borough which he represents. He opposes reform in any shape.

.....

PLANTA, J. *(10, Charles Street, St. James'). Late secretary of the treasury, with a pension, as under secretary of state for foreign affairs, of 1,500l. His father was appointed principal librarian in the British Museum, and subsequently took office under the Pitt administration. Mr. Planta opposes every species of reform.*

HASTINGS. See FANE, p. 250.

.....

POLHILL, F. *A captain in the army. He is a new member, and voted for the reform bill.*

BEDFORD, *town.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of election is in the burgesses, freemen, and inhabitants not receiving alms, about 1,500 in number. The duke of Bedford, and Mr. Whitbread, one of the members, possess considerable influence, through the property they possess in the town.

.....

POLLEN, *sir* J. W. *(Hyde Park Hotel). A supporter of the corn-laws, representative corruption, profligate expenditure, and every other evil.*

ANDOVER, *Hants.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The corporate body has assumed the right of election to themselves, and obtained a confirmation of it by a committee of the house of commons in 1689. The inhabitants of the town, who are numerous, have never submitted but with regret and the strongest opposition to the deprivation of their rights, which they had exercised till this period, and were then robbed of by one of those arbitrary resolutions of the house of commons which brought their decisions into such general disrepute, as to give life to

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the Grenville Act, which was expected to be a security to the country against future encroachments on the people's rights. This did not, however, remove from the journals those numerous resolutions of disfranchisement, which affect not only this town, but the towns of Banbury, Beaumaris, Bewdley, and above a hundred more, together with the populous cities of Bath, Salisbury, Winchester, &c. Had the acts of the 10th, 11th, and 28th of George III., better known by the name of the Grenville Acts, repealed, or caused to be expunged, all the resolutions of the house of commons, respecting the right of election in cities, towns, corporate boroughs, cinque-ports, &c. and then left the question of right open to a committee of the house of commons, constituted as that act directs, and subject to an appeal, as is enacted in the last mentioned statute, this intolerable grievance might in time have been corrected, and the large and populous towns and cities, at least, have been restored to their natural and constitutional privileges, long ere this.

.....

PONSONBY, *hon.* W. F. S. POOLE. See LESTER, p. 213. *(20, St. James' Square).*

Son of lord Besborough, son-in-law to the late earl of Shaftesbury (his wife being the earl's sole heiress), brother to lord Duncannon (first commissioner of woods and forests), brother-in-law to lord Melbourne, and brother to major-general Ponsonby, (governor of Malta, whose pay and pension amount to 7,383*l.* 5*s. a-year*). *Notwithstanding these ties, however, he has voted in favour of several motions for retrenchment and reform; and, among others, for the present reform bill.*

.....

PONSONBY, *hon.* G. *(14, Arlington Street). Brother of lord Ponsonby (ambassador to Belgium), cousin to the preceding mem-*

YOUGHALL, *borough, Ireland.* This is one of the duke of Devonshire's boroughs, and he returns the member by his influence.

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ber, brother-in-law to earl Grey, and brother to the bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora. He has voted as well as his cousin, the member for Poole.

.....

PORTMAN, E. B. *Son-in-law to earl Harewood, and brother-in-law to lord Dormer. His attendance is very bad, but he voted for the reform bill. His exertions to procure the passing of the bill for the regulation of friendly societies, in which he took great interest, has given him considerable popularity with a large number of the working classes.*

DORSETSHIRE. See BANKES, p. 145.

.....

PAULET, W. E. *A colonel in the army, lord lieutenant and custos-rotulorum of the county, and an anti-reformer.*

CARDIGANSHIRE, *Wales.*

.....

POWLETT, *lord*, J. W. F. (19, *Curzon Street*). *Son to the marquis of Cleveland, brother to the earl Darlington, and son-in-law to the earl of Lonsdale. He has generally voted for retrenchment and reform, but against ministers on general Gascoyne's motion, on 19th April.*

DURHAM, *county.* This is one of the palatinates, and formerly held a parliament of its barons within itself. It has returned two members to the general parliament since 1675. The bishop of Durham possesses considerable influence in the elections.

.....

POYNTZ, W. S. *A liberal and reforming member.*

ASHBURTON. See PALK, p. 339.

.....

PRAED, W. N. *This young gentleman, who has very recently taken his place*

ST. GERMAIN'S, *Cornwall.* This is an insignificant village, but has returned two

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in the house of commons, as one of the representatives of the earl of St. Germain's, had previously distinguished himself as a prize poet, at Cambridge, and enjoyed some reputation also as a contributor of verses to "the annuals."

members since 5, Elizabeth. It has no corporation, and the right of election is in the householders, who have resided a year—about 70 in number. The proprietor is the earl of St Germain's, who returns both the members.

His first speech in parliament was as promising as it was extraordinary—coming from such a quarter—and the poor man was induced to believe that a rara avis *had flown from college to St. Stephen's, ominous of better days. Mr. Praed's maiden speech was upon the chancellor of the exchequer's proposed alteration in the cotton tax, and manifested no ordinary knowledge of the poor man's wants and burdens, the latter of which he maintained to be, beyond all comparison, greater than those of the rich. The hon. member's subsequent speech against the ministerial plan of reform, in which he declared that he would oppose all reform that went to a remodeling of the house of commons, which he believed to be amply sufficient for all the purposes of good government, has materially reduced our hope in Mr. Praed's parliamentary career, though we confess we should not like to lose him without further trial.*

.....

PRENDERGAST, G. (2, Westbury. See GRANT, p. 267.
Grove End Road) Ne-
phew to viscount Gort, and
formerly inspector of the East India company's opium monopoly in Bengal. He had hitherto voted against all reform, however moderate, notwithstanding that he voted for lord John Russell's great reform bill!

.....

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PRICE, *sir* R. *Brother to sir Uvedale Price, by a daughter of the first earl of Tyrconnell. He votes for reform.*

HEREFORDSHIRE. See COTTERELL, p. 224.

.....

PRICE, R. *(Hyde Park Hotel). An anti-reformer.*

RADNOR, NEW, *Wales.* This borough, in conjunction with Ryadon, Knyton, Knucklas, and Kevenliel, has returned members since 27, Henry VIII. The number of voters is about 1,200.

.....

PRICE, S. G. *(9, Gray's Inn Square). A barrister. He is a new member, and voted against inquiry into the civil list, and the reform bill.*

SANDWICH. See MARRYATT, p. 268.

.....

PRINGLE, *sir* W. H. *(17, Stratford Place). A lieutenant-general in the army, and colonel of the 64th foot. This is another of the representatives of the earl of St. Germain's, and he therefore votes against retrenchment and reform.*

LISKEARD. See ELIOT, p. 244.

.....

PRINGLE, A. *An East India proprietor, a Scotch advocate, the nominee of the duke of Buccleugh, and a stout anti-reformer.*

SELKIRKSHIRE, *Scotland.*

.....

PRITTIE, *hon.* F. A. *Brother to lord Dunally, brother-in-law to colonel Bernard (the member for King's county), half-brother to the earl of Charleville, and re-*

TIPPERARY, *county, Ireland.* This county has frequently been contested. At the last general election, the popular power triumphed over the house of Donough-

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lated to the Ponsonby family. Mr. O'Connell has described him as a regular hack of the Wellington ministry, notwithstanding that he has voted for the second reading of the reform bill.

more, in the return of Mr. Wyse.

.....

PRYSE, P. *Brother-in-law to viscount Ashbrook, and a moderate reformer.*

CARDIGAN, *town, Wales.* The number of voters in this corporate borough, which has returned a member since 27, Henry VIII., is about 1500. The paramount influence is in the earl of Lisburne and lord Cawdor.

.....

PUSEY, P. *(50, Upper Brook Street). Cousin to the earl of Radnor. He is a new member, and has given an earnest of his future conduct — should he remain in parliament — by voting against inquiry into the civil list, and parliamentary reform.*

CHIPPENHAM. See NEELD, p. 330.

.....

RAE, *sir* W. *(13, Park Place). Late lord advocate for Scotland, for whose wife the duke of Wellington procured a pension of 600l. a-year, after he resigned office! It is hardly necessary to say that sir William votes against reform.*

BUTE and CAITHNESS, *counties, Scotland.* These counties elect a representative alternately. In 1790 the number of real voters in Bute was 3, and in Caithness 10! Sir John Sinclair's influence preponderates in Caithness; and in Bute, the marquis of Bute's.

.....

RAINE, J. *(8, Bedford Square). One of the Welch judges, with a retiring pension of 1000l. a-year. He votes against retrenchment and reform.*

NEWPORT, *Cornwall.* See HARDINGE, p. 272.

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RAMSBOTTOM, J. (1, F. Albany). *A brewer at Windsor, and a liberal member.*

WINDSOR, *Berks* This is a corporate town and has returned two members since 30, Edward I. The right of election is in the inhabitants at large, paying scot and lot, about 700 in number. The influence of Mr. Ramsbottom is sufficient to secure his own return, and that of the castle returns the other member.

.....

RAMSDEN, J. C. *Brother-in-law to lord Dundas, and nephew to lord Dacre. His attendance is very bad, but when present he votes for reform.*

MALTON, *Yorkshire.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I. The right of election is vested in the holders of about 250 burgage-tenures, belonging to earl Fitzwilliam, who nominates both the members. The late attorney-general, Scarlett, was one of the earl's nominees at the late election, but having spoken and voted against the reform bill, he was called upon to resign his seat, and the lord advocate, Mr. Jeffrey, has been returned in his stead.

.....

REID, *sir* J. R. (44, *Upper Grosvenor Street). An East India proprietor, a West India merchant, and a bank director—a most voracious monopolist! He was recommended to the good folks of Dover by the lord warden of the cinque ports—the duke of Wellington, and votes, as is fitting, against retrenchment and reform.*

DOVER, *Kent.* This is one of the cinque ports, and has returned two members since 42, Edward III. The lord warden has the power of returning one member, and the inhabitants return the other. In consequence of the large number of non-resident freemen—1,200, an election costs the candidates a large sum of money. A petition was presented against

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the last return, by Mr. Halcomb, a barrister, who has contested the representation of the borough for some time, but a committee of the house of commons confirmed the return, and declared the petition to be frivolous and vexatious.

.....

RICE, T. S. *(48, Wimpole Street). Son-in-law to the earl of Limerick, and joint secretary of the treasury, (3000l). He is a man of liberal sentiments, and has occupied much of his time in efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Irish people.*

LIMERICK, *city, Ireland.* This is one of the open boroughs in Ireland, Mr. Spring Rice having succeeded, eight or nine years' since, after many years exertions, in destroying the monopoly of the corporation.

.....

RICKFORD, W. *(19, New Street, Spring Gardens). A banker in the town he represents, and a reformer.*

AYLESBURY. See NUGENT, p. 332.

.....

RIDLEY, *sir* M. W. *(10, Carlton House Terrace). Brother to Mr. Colburne, member for Horsham, brother-in-law to the hon. J. Scott (son to lord Eldon, and having places and pensions amounting to about 3000l. a-year), uncle to viscount Encombe, and has two brothers in the church. He is a banker in Aylesbury, and has generally voted well, though not so frequently as he should have done.*

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. See HODGSON, p. 279.

.....

ROBARTS, W. A. *(26, Dover Street). A banker at Bewdley, who is said to entertain some philosophic doubt of the necessity for a*

BEWDLEY, *Worcestershire.* This borough has returned one member since 3, James I. The right of voting is in the bailiff and twelve capital

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house of commons. He voted against the reform measure, no doubt, to save the house from a protracted existence!

burgesses, only. The sitting member, who succeeded to the patronage of his father, an attorney in the place, nominates himself, and commands the votes of the corporation.

.....

ROBARTS, A. W. (26, *Hill Street*). *An East India proprietor, a banker, and a liberal member. He votes for reform.*

MAIDSTONE, *Kent.* This is a corporate borough, and returned two members during the reign of Edward VI. but lost the privilege on account of Wyat's rebellion. It was restored 2, Elizabeth. The right of election is in the corporation and freemen not receiving alms—in number about 700. They are a most venal set, and regularly receive the price of their votes after the election.

.....

ROBINSON, G. R. (5, *John Street, Adelphi*). *A merchant and an East India proprietor. He paired off against ministers on general Gascoyne's motion, on the reform bill.*

WORCESTER. See DAVIES, p. 229.

.....

ROBINSON, *sir* G. (34, *South Street, Grosvenor Sq.*) *Brother-in-law to Hoare, the great banker in Fleet Street, and a liberal member.*

NORTHAMPTON. See GUNNING, p. 371.

.....

ROCHFORT, G. *A colonel in the army. He is one of the Bective family, and was a supporter of the Wellington ministry. He, of course, votes against reform.*

WESTMEATH, *county, Ireland.*

.....

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ROGERS, E. (17, *Regent Street*). *A barrister and an anti-reformer.*

BISHOP'S CASTLE. See CORNWALL, p. 223.

.....

ROSE, *sir* G. H. (7, *Old Palace Yard*).

ROSE, G. P.

These are father and son —the worthy descendants of "Old George Rose," the great sinecurist. In addition to several of them being on the pension list, they have the following good things amongst them:—Sir George is clerk of parliament (house of lords)—W. G. Rose is principal committee clerk—J. Rose is extra clerk—C. P. Rose is reader, and clerk of private committees. They are the uncompromising enemies of civil and religious liberty, and vote against every popular or liberal measure. Sir George is a slave proprietor in the West Indies, and his son, G. P., is captain of the 15th hussars.

CHRISTCHURCH, *Hampshire.* This is a borough by prescription, and has returned two members since the reign of Elizabeth. The right of election is exercised by the corporation only, consisting of 30 persons. Sir George Rose has succeeded to the patronage of his father, which he has greatly strengthened, by buying up every piece of disposable property in and about the borough. He nominates himself and his son.

.....

ROSS, C. (60, *Portland Place*). *Son of general Ross (who is on the staff, pay as colonel, is lieutenant governor of Guernsey, and enjoys a pension,) and son-in-law of earl Cornwallis. He is one of the earl St. Germain's nominees, a West India proprietor, and votes against retrenchment and reform.*

ST. GERMAIN'S. See PRAED, p. 351.

.....

RUMBOLD, E. C. (48, *Upper Harley Street*). *This member is related to the El-*

YARMOUTH. See ANSON, p. 124.

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lenborough family, we believe. His father realized a large fortune in India. He is a man of liberal sentiments, but was absent on the division on the reform bill, from severe illness.

.....

RUSSELL, W. *Uncle of Mr. Tennyson, member for Bletchingly, a large coal proprietor, and the patron of the borough just named. He is a decided reformer, however, and supports most zealously the ministerial measure. He will, no doubt, be elevated to the peerage, as a reward for his generosity.* DURHAM. See POWLETT, p. 351.

.....

RUSSELL, C. *(27, Charles Street, St. James'). An East India proprietor. He is a new member, and voted for the second reading of the reform bill, though he opposed sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list.* READING. See PALMER, p. 340.

.....

RUSSELL, *lord* John, *(pay Office, Whitehall).*

RUSSELL, *lord* W.

The former member is son to the duke of Bedford, and paymaster of the forces. The latter is son to the marquis of Tavistock, lord John's elder brother. The position which the noble lord has recently occupied, as the delegate of the cabinet, to introduce into parliament the great measure of reform, has given him a degree of popularity, and a place in the TAVISTOCK, *Devon.* This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of election is in the freeholders of the county, within the borough, about 25 in number, but the duke of Bedford is the only real elector. The borough was formerly the seat of Orgar, earl of Devonshire, whose son, Ordulf built an abbey here, anno 261, the revenues of which were valued, 26th of Henry VIII. at 902*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

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affections of Englishmen, which he never before claimed, notwithstanding the zeal and assiduity which he has for many years exhibited, in his efforts to procure a partial reform in the representative system. The real reformers could not be satisfied with his extremely partial and meagre plans for renovating the representation, because they left all the great evils unmodified and untouched; and there was some reason for thinking that he proposed to give representatives to the large towns, only for the purpose of postponing a liberal, efficient, and healing measure. This unmerited reproach, has now, however, been rolled away, by the declaration of the noble lord himself, that he was always in favour of a more sweeping and radical reform, but was deterred from bringing it forward, by his knowledge of the assembly to which it must have been proposed. His lordship's speech upon the last occasion was a lucid and eloquent exposition of the theory and history of parliamentary representation, and of the corruptions which have crept into it, in the course of ages, converting it from a wholesome and beneficent provision of national government, into a source of corruption and every evil work. Lord John Russell is entitled to our thanks and gratitude, and we pray that he may long live to see the fruits of his disinterested and generous exertions. His nephew, lord Russell, attends badly, but is liberal.

per annum. At the dissolution of the abbey, 1539, the 31st of Henry VIII. that king, by letters patent, dated July 4, gave lord John Russell, afterwards created earl of Bedford, *the site of this monastery, with the borough and town of Tavistock, and burgage thereof*, with the rectory and advowson of the vicarage, in whose family it has ever since continued.

.....

RUSSELL, R. G. *(4, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn).* THIRSK. See FRANKLAND, p. 157.

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A barrister. He has voted for the reform bill, but has not voted on many other important questions.

.....

RUSSELL, J. *Nephew to the duke of Bedford, and a captain in the navy. We must say of him exactly what is said of the preceding member.*

KINSALE, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election is in about 60 burgesses, under the influence of lord de Clifford, whose neice and heir he married.

.....

RUTHVEN, E. S. *This is an independent member, and generally votes in favour of popular measures.*

DOWNPATRICK, *borough, Ireland.*

.....

RYDER, *hon.* G. D. *Son to the earl of Harrowby, brother to viscount Sandon, son-in-law to the duke of Beaufort, and a captain in the navy. He is the nominee of his father, and votes against retrenchment and reform.*

TIVERTON, *Devon.* This corporate borough has returned two members since 18, James I. The right of election is in the corporation, consisting of 24 persons, under the influence of the earl of Harrowby, who is high-steward of the borough, and returns both the members.

.....

SADLER, M. T. *This member is one of the duke of Newcastle's nominees, and was, we believe, formerly in business as a linendraper, in Yorkshire. He is a man of original and strong powers of mind, and of a benevolent disposition. He has made some good speeches in the house, on the state of the labouring classes, and the necessity of an alteration in the poor laws, as well as on the fallacy of the over-population and emigration theories. He has voted in favour of some*

NEWARK. See HANDLEY, p. 273.

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motions for retrenchment, but was the strenuous opponent of the catholic relief bill, as he now is of the reform bill. He is one of the few strange beings who abhor petty frauds and insignificant dishonesty, while they throw their shields around the men who commit wholesale plunder on the defenceless millions. They can see hypothetical good educible from positive evil!

.....

SANDFORD, E. A. *A new member. He has voted for sir H. Parnell's and lord John Russell's motions.*

SOMERSETSHIRE. See DICKENSON, p. 234.

.....

SANDON *lord, (41, Grosvenor Street). Son to the earl of Harrowby, brother to G. D. Ryder, the other member for this nomination borough, and brother-in-law to the marquis of Bute. He voted against the marquis of Blandford's motion for reform, and also against lord John Russell's motion to give members to the large towns, though he is in the majority on the great measure!*

TIVERTON. See RYDER, p. 361.

.....

SAUNDERSON, A. (52, *Upper Harley Street). A bill broker. He voted against Mr. O'Connell's motion for reform—was absent at the division on the civil list—but paired off in favour of lord John Russell's motion.*

CAVAN. See MAXWELL, p. 325.

.....

SCHONSWAR, G. (18, *Adam Street, Adelphi). A merchant. He is a new member, and voted for inquiry into the civil list, and also for the reform bill.*

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, *Yorkshire.* This corporate borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I., with a short intermission. The right of election vests in the freemen at large,

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about 1,700 in number, who are under no influence but the love of money!

.....

SCOTT, *sir* S. *A corn-factor, and an enemy to retrenchment and reform.*

WHITCHURCH, *Hants.* This borough has returned two members since 27, Elizabeth. The right of election vests in about 70 burgage-freeholds, belonging to sir S. Scott, and lord Sidney. The former nominates himself, and the latter, his own uncle, the hon. H. Townsend.

.....

SCOTT, H. F. (9, *John Street, Berkley Square*). *An anti-reformer.*

ROXBURGHSHIRE, *Scotland.* The duke of Buccleugh has the preponderating influence over the 50, or 60, voters in this county.

.....

SEBRIGHT, *sir* J. S. (188, *Jermyn Street*). *Brother-in-law to the earl of Harewood, and a liberal member.*

HERTFORDSHIRE. See CALVERT, p. 202.

He seconded lord John Russell's great motion for reform.

.....

SEFTON, *earl of*, (21, *Arlington Street*). *This member has a son in the foreign office, and two in the army.*

DROITWICH. See FOLEY, p. 255.

He voted against the marquis of Blandford's reform motion, but has generally supported moderate reform, and is in the majority on the cabinet measure.

.....

SEVERN, J. C. (2, *Queen Square, Westminster*). *This member, and his colleague, lord Brudenell, have uniformly voted against retrenchment and reform.*

FOWEY. See BRUDENELL, p. 187.

.....

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SEYMOUR, H. B. (39, *Upper Grosvenor Street*). *Cousin to the marquis of Hertford, brother to the sergeant-at-arms in the house of lords, cousin to the sergeant-at-arms in the house of commons, nephew to the chairman of the board of excise, and himself a captain in the army. He is a thorough-paced tory, and, of course, votes against retrenchment and reform.*

BODMIN. See GILBERT, p. 259.

.....

SEYMOUR, *lord. Son to the duke of Somerset, and an anti-reformer.*

OAKHAMPTON. See ELLIS, p. 245.

.....

SHAW, F. *Recorder of Dublin, and an illiberal and anti-reforming member.*

DUBLIN. See MOORE, p. 327.

.....

SHEIL, R. *A catholic barrister, and the nominee of the marquis of Anglesea.*

MILBORNE PORT. See BOURNE, p. 178.

Mr. Shiel was one of the most eloquent speakers in the catholic association, but his aristocratic predilections prevented him from ever becoming equally popular with his leader, Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Shiel's subsequent conduct, in acting as lord George Beresford's counsel at the Waterford election, tended most materially to lower him in the estimation of his countrymen, who had thereby some reason given them for believing that Mr. Shiel would consent to advocate any cause, provided he were well paid for it. He contested the representation of Louth with Mr. M'Clintock, but was defeated. His seat in the house was conferred upon him to strengthen the hands of the government, in carrying through the reform bill; and Mr. Shiel—though representing a peer of the realm, and sitting for a rotten borough—argued most eloquently against the system which conferred upon him these honours.

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SHELLEY, *sir* J. *(35, Belgrave Square). Father of the next member, and cousin to the duke of Newcastle. He is an enemy to reform.* LEWES. See KEMP, p. 300.

.....

SHELLEY, J. V. *Son to sir John Shelley, and the nominee of lord Monson. He opposed the reform bill in a singularly absurd speech—even considered as such in the house of commons. He stated his belief that the only independent members were those for the rotten boroughs—that the proposed reform was only a prelude to national misery —and that under its operation the country would soon reach the climax of reform—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the* ne plus ultra *of innovation, the vote by ballot.* GATTON. See HOPE, p. 280.

.....

SHIRLEY, E. J. *(11, North Audley Street). Mr. O'Connell has described this member as "a mongrel—half English, half Irish, and whenever he gives a vote as giving a slavish one." He, of course, opposes the reform bill. He had been appointed sheriff of the county for which he sits, a short time previous to the last election, and managed, by registering a large number of his own freeholders, to defeat the honest man—Mr. Westenra—who had previously represented the county. It will fix an indelible stigma on the Monaghan constituency, if they do not throw him out at the next opening, and re-seat their old member.* MONAGHAN, *county, Ireland.*

.....

SIBTHORP, C. B. *A colonel of militia, and an anti-reforming member.* LINCOLN. See FARDELL, p. 252.

.....

SMITH, *sir* C. S. *This is a new member. He voted against sir H. Parnell's mo-* PONTEFRACT. See JERNYNGHAM, p. 295.

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tion, and would not divide on the reform bill, though he subsequently voted for general Gascoyne's motion, by which the bill was thrown out.

.....

SMITH, J. A. *(47, Belgrave Square).*

SMITH, G. *(1, Upper Harley Street.)*

A brother, and a nephew to lord Carrington. They are bankers and East India proprietors; the latter is also a director. The former voted against general Gascoyne's motion.

MIDHURST, *Sussex.* This borough has a population of 1,300, and has returned two members since 4, Edward II. The right of election is in 18 burgage tenures, which have been sold on leases of 999 years, the nominal freeholds being only retained for the purpose of returning two members. The property has been several times in the market, and now belongs to Mr. John Smith, father to one of the members (Mr. G.), who declares that he never realized a shilling by it, either directly or indirectly, and only held it that he might have the power of putting two whigs into the house at the times of election. It will be disfranchised by the bill.

.....

SMITH, A. *(15, Portland Place).*

SMITH, S. *(39, Berkley Sq.) These are the brother and nephew of lord Carrington, we believe; and one or both are in the banking firm with the preceding members. They vote against reform.*

WENDOVER, *Bucks.* This is an insignificant village, with a population of about 1,600. It has, however, returned two members since 28, Edward I., with some intermissions, the right of election being in the inhabitants living in burgage-houses—about 130 in number,

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belonging to lord Carrington, who returns both the members. Lord Chandos has bought some property in the borough, and made a fruitless attempt at the last election to unseat the sitting members.

.....

SMITH, T. A. *An anti-reformer, and the patron of the borough for which he sits.* — ANDOVER. See POLLEN, p. 349.

.....

SMITH, R. V. *(20, Saville Street). Cousin to lord Holland, and a commissioner of the treasury. He votes for reform.* — TRALEE, *borough, Ireland.* The right of election is in 12, or 13, burgesses, under the influence of the Denny family. The sale of the seat is a provision for the younger children.

.....

SMITH, *hon.* R. J. *(3, Belgrave Street). Son to lord Carrington, and brother-in-law to lord Forrester. He votes in favour of reform.* — BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. See CHANDOS, p. 212.

.....

SMITH, J. *(22, Grosvenor Square). This is another of the brothers of lord Carrington. He is the proprietor of Midhurst, and supports reform.* — CHICHESTER. See LENNOX, p. 313.

.....

SLANEY, R. A. *(16, Tavistock Square). A barrister, but not now practising, we believe. Differing, as we do, in toto, from this gentleman as to the mode of bettering the condition of the English poor, because we differ from him,* toto — SHREWSBURY. See JENKINS, p. 295.

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cœlo, as to the cause of their poverty, we cannot agree in the various hard things which have been said of him on this account. He has generally voted in a liberal and independent manner, and his motions on the poor laws appear to have originated in the best intentions. He has now a notice of motion on the table of the house of commons, the object of which is most praiseworthy—to appoint a select committee, to consider the necessity of securing open spaces in the immediate vicinity of large and populous towns, fitted to preserve health, and afford means of exercise to the middle and labouring classes. He has voted for the reform bill.

.....

SOMERVILLE, *sir* M. *An Irish baronet. He has voted for the second reading of the reform bill, but Mr. O'Connell describes him as having voted more frequently with the Wellington government, than almost any other member.* MEATH. See KILLEEN, p. 302.

.....

SOMERSET, *lord* R. E. *(29, Curzon Street). Brother to the duke of Beaufort, uncle to the marquis of Worcester (member for Monmouth), brother-in-law to viscount Courtenay, late lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and now a colonel of dragoons. He is a staunch Wellingtonite, and voted, of course, against the reform bill.* GLOUCESTERSHIRE. See GUISE, p. 271.

.....

SOMERSET, *lord* G. C. *Son to the duke of Beaufort, nephew to the preceding member, brother to the marquis of Worcester, son-in-law to lord Carrington, and late commissioner of the treasury. His political character and conduct comport with those of his uncle, the member for Gloucestershire.* MONMOUTHSHIRE. See MORGAN, p. 327.

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SOTHERON, F. (58, *Grosvenor Street*). *An admiral in the navy. He is an intolerant and illiberal man, and votes against all questions of a popular kind.*

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. See LUMLEY, p. 317.

.....

SPENCE, G. (35, *Pall Mall*). *A chancery barrister. He voted against the marquis of Blandford's motion on reform, and not in favour of any other motion on the subject, previously to the cabinet measure.*

RIPON. See PETIT, p. 346.

.....

STANLEY, *hon.* E. G. *Son to lord Stanley, grandson to the earl of Derby, son-in-law to lord Skelmersdale, and secretary for Ireland. The conduct of Mr. Stanley and his colleagues in the government, on the question of reform, induce in us a wish to throw the mantle of oblivion over the past actions of some of them—and none need it more than the member for Windsor, as secretary for Ireland.*

WINDSOR. See RAMSBOTTOM, p. 355.

.....

STANLEY, *lord*, (2, *Upper Grosvenor Street*). *Father to the preceding member, and heir to the earl of Derby. He has generally voted for moderate reform, and now supports the great measure.*

LANCASHIRE. See PATTEN, p. 341.

....

STANLEY, W. S. (21, *Curzon Street*). *A new member. He votes against retrenchment and reform.*

STOCKBRIDGE. *Hants.* Although this place does not contain more than 700 inhabitants, it has returned two members since the 5th of Elizabeth. A petition presented against the return of this member, at the last election, will shew the condition of the representation in this borough. The petitioners state that

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the right of election is in the inhabitants of the borough paying scot and lot; and the owner of a large majority of houses, who is a peer, in order to secure a political interest in the place, and the votes of the persons occupying such houses, lets them upon an agreement that they shall quit them upon a fortnight's notice; and that several of the inhabitants who voted against the sitting members who stood upon the interest of the peer, were, immediately after the election, served with notices to quit. A further allegation states, that an entire control over making the rate of the borough has been maintained for many years, by continuing in office the same persons as overseers, one of whom tendered his vote for the sitting members, admitting that he was their agent, and also the agent for the peer, for the management of his property in the borough, and that the sitting member stood upon that interest; that this agent, as overseer, had the control of making the rate; and that two magistrates, neither of them living in the district of the borough, have lately attended, and held petty sessions for confirming the rates so made, although there were several acting magistrates in the district—one of such magistrates being the sitting member, William Sloane Stanley. It is also alleged, that after Mr. Stanley had canvassed the borough, he attended at the sessions, with the other magistrates, and voted for rejecting the claims of several persons who had been left out of the rate by the overseers, to prevent them voting at the election. It is added, that many persons, who from age and infirmity were incapable of work, and were formerly supported by the parish, are collectively employed by the agent alluded to, and the surveyor of the road, also appointed by the same interest; and that such persons are paid wages which they cannot earn, and the amount of their rates deducted from such wages is retained collusively to afford evidence of such persons being payers of scot and lot. The committee appointed by the house to try the case, however, confirmed the return of the sitting members!

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STAUNTON, *sir* G. *(17, Devonshire Street). Son of the late G. Staunton, (governor general of Madras), an East India proprietor, late chief super-cargo in China, and the representative in parliament of lord Heytesbury. He was returned to parliament only at the last election, and voted in favour of sir H. Parnell's and lord John Russell's motions. He appears, however, to have thought that he had done too much; and, therefore, nullified his former votes by voting against the reform bill, on general Gascoyne's motion!*

HEYTESBURY. See A'COURT, p. 119.

.....

STEVENS, S. L. *A new member, who voted against reform.*

BARNSTAPLE. This borough has returned two members since 23, Edward I. the right of election being vested in the corporation and common burgesses, in number nearly 400. The mayor is the returning officer, and money the patron.

.....

STEWART, *sir* H. *Son to the late sir John Stewart, (formerly attorney general in Ireland), and cousin to Mr. Archdall, member for Fermanagh. He is a decided anti-reformer.*

TYRONE. See CORRY, p. 224.

.....

STEWART, *sir* M. S. *(4, Carlton House Terrace). A West India proprietor. He has generally voted for moderate reform, and is in the majority on lord John Russell's motion.*

RENFREWSHIRE, *Scotland.* The number of real voters in this county is about, 30, and of nominal ones about 85. The family of the sitting member have long had the preponderating influence.

.....

STEWART, P. M. *A new member. He voted for the reform bill.*

LANCASTER. See GREEN, p. 269.

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STORMONT, *viscount. Son to the earl of Mansfield, and one of the nominees of the duke of Newcastle. He is a new member, and has distinguished himself by opposing the two great questions before parliament since his return—namely, inquiry into the civil list, and parliamentary reform.*

ALDBOROUGH. See CLINTON, p. 214.

.....

STRATHAVEN, *lord.* (8, *Great Stanhope Street). Son to the earl of Aboyne, and son-in-law to the marquis of Conyngham. He voted against transferring the franchise of Retford to Birmingham, and also against the marquis of Blandford's motion, although he now votes in favour of lord John Russell's motion. He did not vote on the civil list.*

HUNTINGDONSHIRE. See MANDEVILLE, p. 324.

.....

STRUTT, E. (17, *Cork Street). A merchant. He is a new member, and a reformer.*

DERBY. See CAVENDISH, p. 210.

.....

STUART, *lord* P. T. (6, *Whitehall Place). Brother to the marquis of Bute, and a liberal member.*

CARDIFF, *Glamorganshire.* This is a corporate town, with a separate jurisdiction, and, in conjunction with Aberavon, Cowbridge, Kensig, Lougher, Llan-Tressant, Neath, and Swansea, returns one member. The marquis of Bute is the patron, and has the absolute nomination of the member.

.....

STUART, H. V. *Cousin to the marquis of Bute. This member formerly represented the county of*

BANBURY. *Oxfordshire.* This borough has returned one member since the reign of Mary, the right of election

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Waterford, having been returned in consequence of the support he gave to the catholic claims. He subsequently resigned it, however, on an understanding, it is said, with the Beresfords. He opposed the reform bill.

vesting in the corporation, exclusively, who are under the direction of the earl of Guilford.

.....

STUART, W. *(18, Hill Street). A new member, and an anti-reformer.*

BEDFORDSHIRE. This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I. The influential families are those of Russell, Osborn, Pynn, St. John, Fox, and Whitbread. A contested election costs each of the candidates from 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.*

.....

STUART, J. *An East India director, and one of the nominees of the countess of Sandwich He is an illiberal man, and votes against reform.*

HUNTINGDON. See CALVERT, p. 202.

.....

STUART, *lord* D. C. *(16, Wilton Crescent). Uncle to the marquis of Bute. He is a new member, and voted for the motions of sir H. Parnell, and lord John Russell.*

ARUNDEL. See ATKINS, p. 130. In addition to what is stated in the page here referred to, we copy the following paragraph from the Brighton Guardian, of January last. "The disgraceful scene consequent upon the assembling of a new parliament, was exhibited here on Friday last, when 280 of the *free and independent* electors of this borough—being about three-fourths of the whole—were paid a bonus of 10*l.* each, in consideration for the vote given to lord Dudley Stuart. The money was paid, with the usual precautions, in an uninhabited house, belonging

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to the duke of Norfolk. A like sum is expected from alderman Atkins, making 20*l.* to each voter. Lord Dudley Stuart, having bought his seat in the house of commons, and paid for it, is virtually without constituents. Alderman Atkins's vote on the civil list has been generally disapproved of here; but why should the corrupt voters of Arundel complain of the alderman? Would they be paid for their votes and have an independent member too? The thing is impossible: no man is accountable to those for whose favours he has paid. We regret to report that about 100, only, did not accept the money."

.....

SUGDEN, *sir* E. B. (17, *Guildford Street*). *Ex-solicitor general, and a chancery barrister. This gentleman has constantly manifested a disposition to pride himself upon his precise morality, which has tended much to enhance him in the estimation of those who "love the thing that is right." He has, indeed, assumed an immaculacy of moral refinement, which seems altogether incompatible with the pursuit of the law, the influence of which has been frequently deprecated by the pure of heart. However, the saying that "the biggest sinner is the best saint," is in a degree illustrated by this learned ex-solicitor general. The way in which M. P. became attached to his name is somewhat marvelous, in relation to a man of morality. His first essay was for the county of Suffolk; but the borough for which he sits is the property of sir Frederick Johnson, to whom colonel John Gordon, one of the other members for the same borough, is a trustee and a guardian, appointed by the court of chancery. When this appointment took place, in* 1825, *Mr. Sugden was employed by colonel Gordon as his barrister, and it would appear from details furnished by a recent number of the* Caledonian Mercury, *that their acquaintance was cemented by a certain*

WEYMOUTH and MELCOMBE REGIS. See BUXTON, p. 198.

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disposition of colonel Gordon to become a peer, and a certain estimated power of Mr. Sugden to gratify that disposition, and get colonel Gordon elevated to the peerage. Now, to conciliate the learned gentleman, and secure the elevation so ardently desired by the said colonel, he (the colonel) being trustee to his nephew, sir F. Johnson, and thereby possessing the control of the borough, agreed that Mr. Sugden should have a seat in parliament, and be returned free of expense, as often as he should desire such seat and return. Of this agreement the following is the memorandum :—" Lieutenant-colonel Gordon *offers to return Mr. Sugden* free of expense, *for Weymouth, so long as he may require a seat, Mr. Sugden allowing colonel Gordon to sell the three remaining seats; he also, with lords Grantham and Goderich, will use his best endeavours to obtain a peerage for lieutenant-colonel Gordon. Mr. Weyland, (a relation to sir F. Johnson, who had opposed Mr. Sugden at his last election,) to be excluded from the borough." This was economical, if not moral and honest, as regarded the provision for Mr. Sugden. When once an exceedingly moral man commits a trifling mistake, he generally follows it up with another,—such is the relish of forbidden fruit; for, as the Roman poet observes,*

> "The gates of hell are open night and day,
> Smooth the descent, and easy is the way."

So, when this agreement was on the tapis, it was bethought by those whom it concerned, that Mr. Sugden should become a seeming but fictitious proprietor of the borough. And here the learned gentleman's propensity for cheapness *was again displayed, as witness the following memorandum, made by Mr. Sugden on the above memorable occasion :—"Colonel G. is to buy of Messrs. Henning and Horsford their freeholds, and the conveyance is to be taken in the joint names of colonel G. and Mr. S. as purchasers, but Mr. S. is to hold as a trustee only for colonel G. Mr. S.*

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is to be returned free of expense, so long as he requires a seat, and the other seats are to be disposed of as colonel Gordon thinks proper—E. B. S." And on the completion of the affair, the following receipt *was given by Mr. Sugden:* —" *Lincoln's Inn, 6th December,* 1828. *I hereby declare, that the purchase made in Weymouth of Messrs. Henning and Horsford, was, although concluded in the joint names of colonel Gordon and myself, made for him solely, and the* 21,000*l. was his money; I am a trustee for him, but I am to have the benefit of my seat, according to the arrangement with Mr. Fraser, on the part of colonel Gordon and myself.—Edward B. Sugden. The* 10,500*l. paid into my account at Hoare's is the money of colonel G.—E. B. S.* 2,000*l. to pay off old bills, to be paid by Mr. S. on or before general election, if he is returned. If he retire, and another person is returned for his seat, he to pay the* 2,000*l., or only* 1,000*l. if Mr. S. is returned before general election." This piece of deceit, however, got wind in the borough, and the mother of the minor, sir F. Johnson, charged colonel Gordon with mal-practices, and another uncle of sir F. Johnson, named Bower, wrote the said colonel a reprehensive letter, charging him with subverting the interest of his trust. Whereupon the learned ex-solicitor general was referred to, concerning what answer should be returned, and he wrote to Mr. Fraser, the agent of Gordon the following note:—" *Lincoln's Inn,* 23*d January,* 1829.—*My dear sir, It seems hardly possible to avoid answering Bower's letter; but it cannot be too general. On the other side I have sketched what suggests itself to me. I do not think it advisable to apply to Mr. Gilbert Stewart, for reasons which it will be useless to detail in a letter. I advise you not to shew any eagerness to purchase either Buxton's or Welsford's. I am, &c. Edward B. Sugden."*

The sketch is a well planned and deceitful evasion. Afterwards, Mr. Sugden and the gallant colonel managed to get Mr. Ure, the other member, and likewise a trustee for

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young Johnson, into their interest, and thus the triumvirate was complete. However, poor Gordon, in consequence of subsequent changes, and the reverses of his jack-all, Sugden, has not been able to obtain the much desired peerage.

It is needless after what has been adduced, to attempt an explanation of the reasons why sir E. Sugden opposed the reform bill; or to intimate to the reader how consonant has been the learned gentleman's conduct with the character of a lover of the constitution, and a most exemplary moral man. He has given a general denial to the facts, but the documentary evidence, he has not dared to grapple with.

.....

SUMNER, G. H. *This member formerly represented the county of Surrey, but prudently retired, and won the honour of a seat for the borough. He opposes reform "in principle, because he does not know how far it may be carried"!*

GUILDFORD, *Surrey.* This corporate borough has returned two members since 26, Edward I., the right of election being in the freeholders and resident freemen paying scot and lot—in number about 250. Lord Grantham had formerly the power of returning one member, but was defeated at the last election.

.....

SURREY, *earl of, Son and nominee of the duke of Norfolk, and son-in-law to the marquis of Stafford. He is a new member, and voted against the reform motions of Mr. O'Connell and the marquis of Blandford, notwithstanding that his name appears in the majority on lord John Russell's motion.*

HORSHAM. See COLBORNE, p. 221.

.....

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SUTTON, *right hon.* C. M. *(St. Stephen's Court, New Palace Yard). Son of the late archbishop of Canterbury, nephew of lord Manners, cousin of the duke of Rutland, and speaker of the house of commons, at a salary of* 6,000*l. a year! A thousand more than the salary received by the President of the United States!!*

SCARBOROUGH. See PHIPPS, p. 348.

.....

SYKES, D. *(Warner's Hotel, Regent Street). An East India proprietor, and a liberal member. He spoke well in favour of the reform bill.*

BEVERLEY. See BURTON, p. 197.

.....

TALBOT, C. R. M. *Nephew to the earl of Ilchester, and son-in-law to admiral Cole. He is a new member, and voted for the reform bill.*

GLAMORGANSHIRE, *Wales.*

.....

TAVISTOCK, *marquis of,* (16, *Carlton House Terrace). Eldest son of the duke of Bedford, brother to lord John Russell, and son-in-law to the earl of Harrington. He paired off in favour of the reform bill, but his votes are not so often to be found in favour of liberal measures as we could desire.*

BEDFORDSHIRE. See STUART, p. 373.

.....

TAYLOR, M. A. *(Whitehall Yard). A retired barrister, and a man of liberal sentiments. His efforts to procure a reform in the court of chancery, during the judicial administration of lord Eldon, were most praiseworthy.*

DURHAM. See GRESLEY, p. 269.

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TAYLOR, G. W. *(Cavendish Square). A West India proprietor, and an anti-reformer.*

DEVISES. See PEARSE, p. 342.

.....

TENNANT, C. *(62, Russell Square). A solicitor. He is a new member, and has voted for the reform bill.*

ST. ALBANS. See GRIMSTONE, p. 270.

.....

TENNYSON, C. *(4, Park St. Westminster). Clerk of the ordnance, and nephew to Mr. Russell, the proprietor of the borough for which he sits. He is a man of a liberal mind, and a decided reformer.*

BLETCHINGLY. See HORNE, p. 281.

.....

THOMPSON, G. B. *A new member. He has voted against the reform bill.*

YARMOUTH. See PEEL, p. 343.

.....

THOMPSON, P. B. *(29, Berkley Square). A reformer.*

WENLOCK. See FORESTER, p. 257.

.....

THOMPSON, W. *alderman, (12, Whitehall Place). This gentleman is a merchant, and a director of the bank of England. He is, no doubt, an independent member, but his politics are of the tory school, and he is of little or no use in the house—to speak of him in the most favour-*

LONDON, *city.* This is the metropolis of the British empire, and contains a population of upwards of a million. It has returned two members since 23, Edward I., and two additional, since 34, Edward III. It is governed by a lord mayor, a recorder, 26 aldermen, 2 sheriffs, and 236 common-

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able terms. He has voted for lord John Russell's motion, though he opposed the inquiry into the civil list, and in former times voted against reform. At a recent meeting of the common council, Mr. T. let a few words escape him, which shewed that he did not at all like the reform measure, but it having been pretty unequivocally declared, at a subsequent meeting of the livery, that such of the city members as refused it support would be most likely to lose their seats, Mr. Thompson stepped forward, and gave his adhesion to ministers. The reception he met with, however, renders it not at all improbable that Mr. Thompson may—as he should do—lose his seat, notwithstanding his cunning.

councilmen. The mayor is chosen out of the 26 aldermen, by rotation, on Michaelmas day. The sheriffs are chosen by the livery, in common hall, and may either be selected from the court of aldermen, or from the freemen at large. The aldermen and common-council are chosen by the inhabitant householders, being freemen of the respective wards. The aldermen hold their respective offices for life, but the common-council are elected annually, on St. Thomas's day. The recorder is chosen by the court of aldermen, and holds his office for life. The other city officers, of importance, are, the chamberlain, common-sergeant, town-clerk, comptroller, collector of the city dues, two judges of the sheriff's court, four city counsel, two secondaries of the compter, a remembrancer, and a solicitor. The lord mayor has three esquires of his household, a sword-bearer or crier, water bailiff, six gentlemen of the household, two city marshals, and six marshal's men.

The returning officers are the sheriffs, and the right of election, for the members of parliament, is in the livery, who amount to about 12,000. In order to be possessed of this elective right, a man must have obtained his freedom of one

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of the trading companies, and likewise of the city of London, either by birth, as the son of a freemen after his father became free; by a servitude, as having served seven years' apprenticeship to a freeman; by gift of the corporation, or by purchase, and afterwards by being admitted to the livery of one of the companies. This last qualification was not always necessary, the right of election anciently having been in the freemen at large, which was the subject of many contests, until 2, George I. gave a peremptory right to the livery only. When it is considered that London is the moving power which gives speed and energy to the whole manufactures of the country—the heart which propels the life-blood of industry and the vital heat of enjoyment to the remotest town and hamlet of the empire, the representatives of the city rise in importance, and become, by way of eminence, the representatives of the manufacturing and trading interests. Other towns have their local biasses and prejudices, limited by the narrow circles of their own locality. Some, even of the most populous manufacturing towns in England have no representation at all—in many, the members represent not the places but the money with which they are bought—and in very many of the towns of Scotland and Ireland, except a corruption-feast at the time of the election, the members might as well be sent to Siberia or to New South Wales, as to the chapel of St. Stephen. How different with the members for London! They stand at once in the presence of the court, of their constituents, and of the country—they are linked to every interest, and (which is perhaps fully as much to the purpose) they are watched at every step. Thus viewed, the responsibility conferred on the citizens of London, by their elective right, is more than ordinarily great, and should induce them to exercise their franchise with the utmost scrupulosity. We have no very great fault to find with them in this respect, all things considered; but they might do better than they have done. Such men as alderman Thompson are not worthy their suffrage.

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THOMSON, C. P. (9, *Somerset House*). *Vice president of the board of trade, and treasurer of the navy. He is an extremely liberal man. We beg to remind him, however, that before he came into office, he insisted upon it, that if newspapers must carry a stamp, it should on no account exceed a half-penny! Why does he not use his influence, then, as a member of the government, to effect such a change, instead of acquiescing in the trifling and useless reduction of a penny, and that postponed for nearly six months since it was announced?*

DOVER. See REID, p. 535.

.....

THYNNE, *lord*, J. (15, *Hill Street*). *Brother to the marquis of Bath, and an anti-reformer.*

BATH. See PALMER, p. 339.

.....

THYNNE, *lord* W.

THYNNE, *lord* H. F. *These are two sons and nominees of the marquis of Bath. The latter is a captain in the navy, and they are both, like their uncle, anti-reformers.*

WEOBLY, *Herts*. This is a small hamlet, containing a population of about 700, only, but it has returned two members since 26, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of election is very singular; namely, in the inhabitants of ancient vote-houses, of 20*s*. per annum value, and upwards, residing in the said houses forty days before the day of election, and paying scot and lot; and also in the owners of such ancient vote-houses, paying scot and lot, who shall be resident in such houses at the time of election. These houses are deserted till the period of an election, at which time the servants of the marquis of Bath, to whom the borough belongs, bring beds, and occuppy them for the required time, and then return the members.

.....

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TOMES, J. *(Exchequer Coffee House). A banker at Warwick; he did not vote on many motions of importance, but is in the majorities on those of sir H. Parnell and lord John Russell.* WARWICK. See GREVILLE, p. 270.

.....

TOMLINE, W. G. *(1, Carlton House Terrace). A new member, and an enemy to reform.* MINEHEAD. See LUTTRELL, p. 213.

.....

TOWNSEND, *lord*, H. G. P. *Brother to viscount Sydney, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He has been a very short time in parliament, and voted against the reform bill.* WHITCHURCH. See SCOTT, p. 336.

.....

TOWNSEND, *lord* C. V. F. *Brother to the marquis of Townsend, and uncle to the member for Whitchurch; he voted for giving members to the large towns, and also for Mr. O'Connell's motion on reform, but was absent at the division on lord John Russell's motion.* TAMWORTH. See PEEL, p. 343.

.....

TOWNSEND, *lord* J. N. B. *Uncle to the marquis of Townsend, and an officer in the navy. He votes againsl reform.* HELSTON. See PECHELL, p. 342.

.....

TRAILL, G. *This member voted for the reform bill.* ORKNEY and SHETLAND, *Scotland.* The number of voters does not exceed 18. Lord Dundas, who is lord-lieutenant and vice admiral of the Islands, nominates the member.

.....

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FRENCH, F. W. (7, *Bolton Street*). *A colonel in the army, and late principal store-keeper of the ordnance. He is an extremely illiberal man, and votes against all reform.*

CAMBRIDGE. See GRAHAM, p. 256.

.....

TREVOR, *hon.* G. R. (10, *Stratten Place*). *Son to lord Dynevor, and son-in-law to lord C. Fitzroy. He votes against all reform.*

CARMARTHENSHIRE, *Wales.* The political influence of this country has been disputed for the last 25 years, between lord Dynevor and lord Cawdor; but the former has always prevailed, except at the election for the short parliament in 1806, when lord Cawdor procured the return of sir William Paxton.

.....

TUDOR, G. (28, *Park Crescent*). *A new member, who voted against reform.*

BARNSTABLE. See STEVENS, p. 371.

.....

TUFTON, *hon.* H. (9, *Connaught Terrace*). *Brother to the earl of Thanet, and a liberal member.*

APPLEBY. See MAITLAND, p. 323.

.....

TULLAMORE, *lord*, (48, *Charles Street, Berkley Square*). *Son to the earl of Charleville, and married to a niece of the duke of Argyle. He is an illiberal man, and votes against all extension of civil and religious liberty.*

CARLOW, *borough, Ireland.* The member is returned by the earl of Charleville. The last election was contested with lord Tullamore, by a Mr. Bruer, who has since petitioned against the return, though unsuccessfully. The grounds of the petition were that the privilege of returning a member was at present confined to a limited body of 12 burgesses, whereas the right was vested in the inhabitants

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paying scot and lot; and that the earl of Charleville had exercised an unconstitutional influence over the corporation.

.....

TUNNO, E. R. *(19, Upper Brook Street). An enemy of reform.*

BOSSINEY, *Cornwall.* Bossiney is a small hamlet, in the parish of Tintagell, containing one small farm-house, and half a dozen of the most wretched and miserable cottages that are any where to be found. Trevena is another contemptible hamlet, little better than Bossiney, containing about a score houses of the worst description; and these two hamlets form a borough, and have returned two members to parliament, since the reign of Edward VI. The right of voting is possessed by the nominal mayor and burgesses, being freeholders, who usually amount to eight or nine persons. The representation is divided between lord Wharncliffe and Mr. Tunno, the former returning his son, and the latter himself.

.....

TWISS, *Horace, (5, Park Place, St. James'). A "small attorney," who found more profit in attendance on the treasury lords than on the lord chancellor. He is a man of low origin, who, by his servility, raised himself to the office of under secretary of state for the colonies, during the Wellington administration. He is a slavish follower of the duke, his late master, and in a speech delivered against the reform bill, he took occasion to speak of the middle and working classes in such a manner as to procure for himself the contempt of the whole country.*

NEWPORT, ISLE of WIGHT. See PERCEVAL, p. 346.

.....

TYNTE, C. K. K. *(16, Hill Street). A colonel of militia, we believe. He votes for the reform bill; and is, if we mistake not, a liberal man.*

BRIDGEWATER. See ASTELL, p. 129.

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TYRELL, C. *A new member, who has voted well since he took his seat.* SUFFOLK. See BUNBURY, p. 190.

.....

TYRELL, J. T. *A colonel in the army, and an anti-reformer, who came in upon the popular interest, at the last election, in consequence of permitting his friends to represent him as a reformer. He now says, that he himself gave no pledge, and votes against the reform bill! The people of Essex must not be cheated a second time.* ESSEX, *county.* This county has returned two members since 22, Edward I. It is independent, but a contested election costs the candidates a large sum of money.

.....

URE, M. *(16, Lower Brook Street). Writer of the signet, but an opponent of reform, and a regular jobber.* WEYMOUTH. See BUXTON, p. 198.

.....

UXBRIDGE, *earl of, (32, Bruton Street). Son of the marquis of Anglesea, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army, married to a niece of the duke of Argyle. He voted against the repeal of the test and corporation acts, and the catholic disabilities, as well as against Mr. O'Connell's motion for parliamentary reform. He voted, however, for the second reading of lord John Russell's bill.* ANGLESEYSHIRE, *Wales.* The marquis of Anglesea nominates the member for this county.

.....

VALENTIA, *lord, Son and nominee of the ear of Mountnorris, and an enemy of reform.* WEXFORD. See CHICHESTER, p. 213.

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VALLETORT, *viscount, Son and nominee of the earl of Mount Edgecombe, and a determined opponent of reform.* — LESTWITHIEL. See CUST, p. 228.

.....

VAUGHAN, *sir* R. W. *An anti-reformer.* — MERIONETHSHIRE, *Wales.*

.....

VAUGHAN, J. E. *(16, Regent Street). An anti-reformer.* — WELLS. See LEA, p. 311.

.....

VERE, J. J. H. *Son-in-law to the marquis of Cleveland. He is a new member, and voted for reform.* — ILCHESTER. See BRUCE, p. 185.

....

VERNON, G. V. *Son of the archbishop of York, nephew to the marquis of Stafford (of whom he is the nominee, but under a pledge to lord Anson to retire at the next election!), brother of E. V. Vernon, (registrar of the exchequer and prerogative courts of the see of York,—and also of the consistory and chancery courts: about 2,500l. a-year). He is himself judge of the courts in which his brother is registrar, and the fees of his office, for the last three years, amount to 5,040l. 15s. He has brothers in the army*

LITCHFIELD, In addition to what is said in p. 123, we recommend to notice a petition from the bailiffs, magistrates, freeholders, &c. of this city, which illustrates, in a very edifying manner, the sort of trade or craft carried on by a pair of adventurers, (the petitioners, we believe, call them "noblemen") in the multiplying of votes by a process termed "splitting," to the exclusion of the lawful constituents of Lichfield from all practical benefit of their franchise, and to the transfer of that power which is destitute of every shadow of right

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and navy—for shame! archbishop of York! and several relations on the pension list. He has always voted against reform and retrenchment—being very well satisfied with things as they are—although his name appears in the majority for the second reading of the reform bill.

on which to ground its exercise. The petition is, in its way, a curiosity.

"A petition of the bailiffs, magistrates, freeholders, burgage-holders, and freemen, of the city and county of Lichfield, was presented, and read; setting forth, that by an act passed in the 7th and 8th years of king William III., commonly called the splitting act, for further regulating the election of members to serve in parliament, and other purposes, 'It is enacted, that all conveyances of any messuages, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, in any county, city, borough, town corporate, port, or place, in order to multiply voices, or to split and divide the interest in any houses or lands amongst several persons, to enable them to vote at elections of members to serve in parliament, shall be void and of none effect; and that no more than one single vote shall be admitted for one and the same house and tenement;' that the right of voting in the election of members of parliament for the city and county of Lichfield, is in the bailiffs, magistrates, freeholders of 40*s.* a-year, all that hold by burgage tenure, and such freemen only of the said city as are enrolled, paying scot, and bearing lot; that in the year 1790, the total of freeholders in the said city, exclusive of burgage-holders, was estimated at about 300, of whom 40 only, or thereabouts, were in respect of rent charges of 40*s.* a-year granted out of lands; that contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and the manifest intention of the legislature in passing the said recited act, and subsequent acts, and in order to create a preponderating influence in two noble families, in the election of members of parliament for the said city, about 730 annuities or rent-charges, not exceeding 2*l.* 2*s.* each, issuing out of the lands

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in the city and county of Lichfield, were, between the years 1792 and 1828, granted by two peers of the realm to their friends, tenants, and dependants, almost all of whom were strangers to the city, and many of them living in distant parts of the kingdom; that the said rent-charges are frequently charged in great numbers upon the same division of land; and two fields containing together 12½ acres, and of the value of 60*l.* are jointly burdened with 26 rent-charges; and three fields of 7½ acres, and of the value of 35*l.*, with 17 rent-charges; and one field of 12 acres, of the value of 50*l.*, with 22 rent charges, or thereabouts; that the distintion between a freehold estate and a rent-charge, established by law with respect to the elective franchise in Ireland, is applicable to the city and county of Lichfield, and to other cities and towns which are counties of themselves, and also to counties and other places in England, where the exercise of the elective franchise of the *bona fide* possesssors of the soil is completely defeated by the creation of rent-charges, and the multiplying of votes for one and the same tenement, by the proprietor thereof, for electioneering purposes."

.....

VILLIERS, *lord. Son of the earl of Jersey. He is a new member, and votes against retrenchment and reform.* ROCHESTER. See BERNAL, p. 163.

.....

VILLIERS, T. H. *Nephew to the earl of Clarendon (chief justice in Eyre, north of Trent, 2,250l.), brother to G. W. F. Villiers (commissioner of customs, 1,400l.), and a barrister. He voted for giving members to the large towns, but against a general reform, although he is in the majority on lord John Russell's bill.* WOOTTON BASSETT. See MAHON, p. 322.

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VYVIAN, *sir* R. R. (26, *Great George Street*). CORNWALL. See PENDARVES, p. 345.

This is an independent member, but he has a sad twist in his head on the subject of parliamentary reform. When that measure is carried, we should have no objection to see sir R. Vyvian again in the house of commons—but not till then. He proposed the amendment on lord John Russell's bill, for the purpose of throwing it out, and delivered a violent tirade against ministers on the day of the dissolution.

.....

WAITHMAN, *alderman*, (7, *Woburn Place*). LONDON. See THOMPSON, p. 379.

A retired haberdasher. This member has been returned three times for the city of London, by the free and spontaneous choice of his fellow citizens. His exertions in the court of common council, to root out corporation abuses, and the bold and uncompromising manner in which he advocated the cause of freedom, marked him out as the man to represent popular opinion in the chapel of St. Stephen's, and to procure, by his speeches and votes, an amelioration of the civil and commercial institutions of the country. In many respects he has disappointed his friends, though he has not really deserted his principles. His mind is too ill-informed, and his powers of address too feeble and uncultivated to bring forward and consummate any great measure; he can only make himself useful by an occasional speech on some popular question, and an honest vote on all. So far, there is not much room to complain of him, although we find several important motions on which he has not voted at all. Among these, are the motions against increasing the salary of the president of the board of trade—reform in the representation of Edinburgh—for abolishing the offices of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and treasurer

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of the navy—marquis of Blandford's motion on reform—abolishing punishment of death for forgery—reducing salaries of South American embassies—reform in chancery—disbanding the yeomanry—a modification of taxes—reducing salaries to consuls—inquiry into the crown lands—revision of the first-fruits-fund of Ireland—malversation of four-and-a-half per cent duties—increasing the recognizances of newspaper proprietors. These were all questions of first-rate importance, and a member of alderman Waithman's pretensions ought not to have been absent on the divisions. The new reform bill, he says, has renewed his youth; let us, therefore, hope—should not a more efficient man be returned in his place—that such sins of omission as those we have noticed, will not chequer his future parliamentary life.

.....

WALL, C. B. *(44, Berkley Square). A merchant, and an anti-reformer. He characterizes the reform bill, as one of innovation and danger, says—he has been brought up to cherish great veneration for lord mayors and aldermen, and would as soon consent to an equitable adjustment, as to a measure that will in any way affect their exclusive right.*

GUILDFORD. See SUMNER, p. 377.

.....

WALPOLE, *hon. J. Brother and nominee of the earl of Orford, formerly in the army. He is in the majority on lord John Russell's motion, but had previously voted against all reform.*

KING'S LYNN. See BENTINCK, p. 158.

.....

WALROND, B. *(18, Clifford Street). Son-in-law to the earl of Rosslyn* (see Peep), *and a West India*

SUDBURY, *Suffolk.* This is a corporate borough, and has returned two members since 4, Elizabeth. The

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proprietor. He opposes reform, and is a very weak man.

right of election is in the freemen, resident and non-resident, and the seats go to the highest bidder! It is the most corrupt place in England.

.....

WALSH, *sir* J. (28, *Berkley Square. A new member,* SUDBURY. See above.

who opposes the reform bill. He has published one or two pamphlets on the subject, in which he maintains that the plan of the cabinet is revolutionary in its nature, incongruous in its details, and dangerous in its tendencies. He is a man of some abilities, and of amiable character, but is too staunch a supporter of the predominant power of the aristocracy.

.....

WARBURTON, H. (45, *Cadogan Place). A merchant, and one of the most* BRIDPORT. See PAUL, ST. p. 341.

independent, honest, and valuable members in the house. There is scarcely to be found one motion of a liberal character which has not received his support.

.....

WARD, W. (40, *Bloomsbury Square). A merchant, a bank director, an East India proprietor, and chairman of the late select committee of the house of commons, on the affairs of the company. He is a regular tory, and will, no doubt, lose his seat at the next election. He, of course, opposed the reform bill.* LONDON. See THOMPSON, p. 379.

.....

WARRENDER, *sir* G. (22, *Albemarle Street). Brother-in-law to the earl of Falmouth, and an East India proprietor. He declares himself to be a moderate reformer, but objects to the disfran-* HONITON. See GUEST, p. 271.

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chisement of the close boroughs. He opposes the reform bill. He also thinks the civil list requires augmentation, rather than diminution!

.....

WATERPARK, *lord. An Irish peer. He is a lieutenant-colonel of the Staffford militia, has one brother, assistant to the president at Delhi, in Bengal, another, a captain in the navy, and two others in the church. He is a new member, and the only vote we can find is in favour of the reform bill. He is the nominee of the duke of Devonshire, and was returned in opposition to the will of the people of Knaresborough, who opposed his election by nominating another candidate, but the votes given for him were rejected by the agent of the duke. After the election farce had been completed, lord Waterpark addressed the people, and said: "I most cordially agree with every sentiment uttered by my friend, sir James Mackintosh, respecting parliamentary reform. I am a friend to parliamentary reform*—(laughter) *—and I feel such confidence in ministers, that I shall be proud to give them my support. I will do every thing in my power to promote economy and reform; and, though I am not at this time your popular candidate, I am confident that when I come among you again, you will be satisfied with the votes I shall give in parliament." He has not belied his promise.*

KNARESBOROUGH. See MACKINTOSH, p. 320.

.....

WATSON, *hon.* R. *Brother to lord Sondus, and a captain in the* 10*th hussars. He is a new member, and voted for the motions of sir H. Parnell and lord John Russell.*

CANTERBURY. See FORDWICH, p. 256.

.....

WEBB, E. *An independant and honest reformer.*

GLOUCESTER. See PHILPOTTS, p. 347.

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WELBY, G. E. *A new member. He voted against ministers, on reform.* GRANTHAM. See CHOLMELEY, p. 213.

.....

WELLESLEY, *hon.* W. L. (39, *Dover Street*). *Son of lord Maryborough, and nephew to the duke of Wellington and the marquis of Wellesley. He is proprietor of the borough for which he sits, and has been but a short time in parliament. He avows himself to be a decided and thorough-paced reformer, and has voted accordingly.* ST. IVES. See MORRISON, p. 329.

.....

WEYMYSS, J. *A captain in the navy, and an enemy to reform, notwithstanding he voted with the majority for the second reading of lord John Russell's bill.* FIFESHIRE, *Scotland.* The number of electors in this county is nearly 200, but they are under the influence of the sitting member.

.....

WEST, F. R. *Cousin and nominee of the earl of Delawarr and nephew of lady Matilda Wynyard, who has a pension of 457l. 12s. He votes against all kinds of reform.* EAST GRINSTEAD. See HOLMESDALE, p. 280.

.....

WESTERN, C. (35, *South Street*). *A decidrd reformer.* ESSEX. See TYRELL, p. 390.

.....

WETHERELL, *sir* C. (7, *Whitehall Place*), *One of the duke of Newcastle's nominees, a chancery barrister, and ex-attorney general. Sir Charles is a most valiant defender of all existing abuses, which he venerates for their antiquity, and would* BOROUGHBRIDGE. See ATTWOOD. p. 132.

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do any thing but die to uphold. The conflagration of a city would not give him half so much uneasiness as an interference with "vested rights," whether of the churchmen, the lawyers, or the boroughmongers. He is a most singular being—a strange compound of learning, prejudice, and illiberality.

.....

WEYLAND, J. *A merchant, and one of the nominees of lord Calthorpe.* HINDON. See FORTESCUE, p. 257.

He is a new member, and voted for inquiry into the civil list, and parliamentary reform.

.....

WHITBREAD, W. H. (99, *Baton Square). Nephew to earl Grey, and a brewer.* BEDFORD. See POLHILL, p. 349.

He is a liberal member, and votes for retrenchment and reform.

.....

WHITE, S. *This member has voted for some motions for retrenchment, and also for the reform bill.* LEITRIM, *county, Ireland.*

.....

WHITE, A. *A colonel of militia. He has voted for retrenchment and reform.* DUBLIN. See BRABAZON, p. 181.

.....

WHITMORE, T.
WHITMORE, W. W.

These are father and son, the latter being also son-in-law to the earl of Bradford. The son is the much more liberal man, and supports the

BRIDGENORTH, *Salop.* This is a corporate town, and has returned two members since 23, Edward I., the elective franchise being in the burgesses, and freemen, resident and non-resident, about 700 in number, and under the

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ministerial measure of reform.

patronage of the Whitmores, who have represented it since the reign of James I.

.....

WILBRAHAM, G. *(56, Upper Seymour Street). Son-in-law to earl Fortescue, and a reformer.*

STOCKBRIDGE. See STANLEY, p. 369.

.....

WILKS, J. *(3, Finsbury Square). A solicitor. He is a new member, and a man who has devoted many years of his life to the extension of civil and religious liberty.*

BOSTON. See MALCOLM, p. 323.

.....

WILLIAMS, R. *(36, Grosvenor Square). A banker, and an enemy to reform.*

DORCHESTER. See ASHLEY, p. 128.

.....

WILLIAMS, O. *(41, Berkley Square).*

WILLIAMS, T. P. *(41, Berkley Square).*

Father and son, the former being proprietor of the borough. They both voted against the reform bill.

MARLOW, GREAT, *Bucks.* This borough has a population of not more than 2,500, or 2,800 inhabitants, but has returned two members since 28, Edward I., with some intermissions. The right of election is in about 280 inhabitants of burgage houses, which passed, with the estate of temple house, from Lee Anthony to Owen Williams, whose father made a large fortune by the accidental discovery of the Paris copper mines in Anglesea. He has been somewhat disturbed by Mr. Morrison, the member for St. Ives, and colonel Clayton, both of whom have been building houses, that would give the right of voting in the borough.

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WILLIAMS, J. (28, *Grosvenor Square*). *One of the representatives of the marquis of Cleveland, a barrister, and attorney general to the queen. He used to make interminable speeches on the necessity of a reform in chancery, during the judicial administration of the earl of Eldon, but he has not voted upon any of the great questions which have so interested the country within the last two or three years. It is said, he would have voted for the reform bill, but was ill. He voted against General Gascoyne's motion.*

WINCHELSEA. See DUNDAS, p. 241.

.....

WILSON, *sir* R. (18, SOUTHWARK. See CALVERT, *Regent Street*) p. 201. *A lieutenant-general in the army. He has borne little fruit of late years, and like the M. P's for Westminster, appears to require a few years fallow from the service of his constituents. Most people are much astonished, as the editor of the Black Book remarks, what the plain and sensible boroughonians can have to do with such a dangler at the Pavilion as this member. It is very many years since he either did or said anything worth remembering; and since the restoration of his military rank, he has become quite a courtier, apparently with a much stronger aptitude for a* gold stick or groomship *of the bedchamber, than for the legislative duties of a commercial population. On the important question of the civil list, the cunning fox neither acted like "an honest man, nor a soldier;" for though in the house before and after the division, he adroitly kept aloof from voting, dexterously presenting two faces—one to Windsor and another to Brookes'. On the subject of the ballot he has made himself conspicuous, and has received several severe chastisements. Since these remarks were set up, sir Robert has spoken on the question of reform, and in support of general Gascoyne's motion. This has*

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extinguished his parliamentary life. His constituents immediately called upon him to resign, which he did, on the very day of the dissolution.

.....

WINCHESTER, H. (12, *Buckingham Street*). *An alderman of London. He is a new member, and voted against enquiry into the civil list and reform. He is a decided illiberal.*

MAIDSTONE. See ROBARTS, p. 357.

.....

WOOD, C. (22, *Charles Street, Berkley Square*). *Son-in-law and private secretary to earl Grey. He votes for reform.*

GRIMSBY. See HARRIS, p. 274.

.....

WOOD, T. (16, *Stratton Street*). *Brother-in-law to the marquis of Londonderry, and a colonel of militia. He has voted for the second reading of the reform bill, but is opposed to reform, as his subsequent vote in favour of general Gascoyne's motion has proved.*

BRECKNOCKSHIRE, *Wales.* This county has returned one member since 27, Henry VIII. The influence of sir Charles Morgan carries the election.

.....

WOOD, J. (1, *Tanfield Court, Temple*). *A barrister—an independent and honest reformer. He is an honour to the house.*

PRESTON. See HUNT, p. 286.

.....

WOOD, Alderman. (24, *Great George Street*). *A merchant in the city. This member is neither a Solon in wisdom, nor a Demosthenes in eloquence, but still he has been far more efficient than many members of more brilliant talents and more aspiring pretensions. To great warmth of heart, Mr.*

LONDON. See THOMPSON, p. 379.

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Wood joins much coolness of head; and while the one keeps him ever alive to any thing that is calculated to secure the rights or promote the interests of his fellow-citizens, the other enables him to devote to the details of business, that patient attention which is really the most valuable qualification of a member of the senate. In public debate, he exhibits nothing that is either brilliant or entertaining. You are never tempted to laugh with alderman Wood; but, on the other hand, the line of his political conduct is so straight and inflexible, that you are no friend to the best interests of your country and of mankind, if you shew any disposition to laugh at him. His votes in the house have been consistent and liberal, and he has seldom been absent from his place. He is the best, most decidedly, of the city members.

.....

WORCESTER, marquis of, (8, *Park Place*). *Son and representative of the duke of Beaufort, son-in-law of lady E. C. Smith (sister of the duke of Wellington, with a pension of* 600*l.*), *and a major in the army. He opposes reform.*

MONMOUTH, *city*. This is a corporate town, and with the contributory boroughs, Newport and Usk, has returned one member since 27, Henry VIII. Sir Charles Morgan enjoys the prevailing influence in Newport, and the duke of Beaufort in Monmouth and Usk; but by a tacit agreement between them, sir Charles takes his seat for the county, on condition of his interest being exerted in the boroughs on behalf of the duke's nominee. The right of election is in the corporators, about 800 in number, over whom the great men exercise their influence.

.....

WORTLEY, *hon.* C. S. *Son of lord Wharncliffe. He votes against reform.*

BOSSINEY. See TUNNO, p. 389.

.....

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WRIGHTSON, W. B. *A new member, and has voted for sir H. Parnell's and lord John Russell's motions. He is a highly independent gentleman.* KINGSTON-UPON-HULL. See SCHONSWAR, p. 362.

.....

WROTESLEY, *sir* J. (13, *George street, Hanover Square). Brother-in-law to earl Tankerville, and a banker and East India proprietor. He voted for the reform bill, and said he would rather it should be thrown out altogether, than be frittered away in the committee. He is a highly independent member.* STAFFORDSHIRE. See LITTLETON, p. 314.

.....

WYNDHAM, W. (39, *New Bond Street). An anti-reformer.* SALISBURY. See BOUVERIE p. 179.

.....

WYNNE, C. W. G. (39, *Portmän Square). A barrister, and an anti-reformer.* CARNARVONSHIRE, *Wales.*

.....

WYNN, *sir* W. W. (18, *St. James' Square). A nephew of lord Grenville* (see Peep), *brother to the member for Montgomeryshire, son-in-law of earl Powiss, brother of C. W. W. Wynn (minister plenipotentiary at Copenhagen, and son-in-law of lord Carrington), lord lieutenant of the county of Denbighshire, and a colonel of militia. He is an anti-reformer.* DENBIGHSHIRE, *Wales.* The prevailing influence in this county is in the sitting member, who succeeded his father in the representation.

.....

WYNN, *right hon.* C. W. W. (20, *Grafton Street, Bond Street). Brother to the preceeding member, and late secretary at war. He* MONTGOMERYSHIRE, *Wales.* The earl of Powiss has the commanding influence in this county.

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would not support the reform bill and was therefore obliged to surrender his office. There is not a man in the house who has been guilty of turning his coat so many times as the member for Montgomeryshire, notwithstanding that he may appear to have sacrificed his private interests, to what he believed to be his public duty, on this occasion

.....

WYNN J. (89, *Jermyn Street*). *An illiberal and anti-reforming member.*

SLIGO, *borough, Ireland.* The corporation and representation of this borough are under the entire control of the Wynn's, who, as Mr. O'Connell remarks, might nominate their stable-boy to represent it in parliament. The patriot just named, has said that if the reform bill would do no more than emancipate Sligo from the anti-social and unchristian grasp of the Wynn's, he would receive it as the greatest of boons.

.....

WYSE, T. (*Manchester Buildings*). *A new catholic member, who came into parliament on the popular interest, and voted for the reform bill.*

TIPPERARY, *county, Ireland.* See PRITTIE, p. 323.

.....

YORKE, *sir* J. (14, *New Burlington Street*). *Brother of the earl of Hardwicke, an admiral in the navy, and an enemy to reform.*

REIGATE. See COCKS, p. 216.

.....

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We have now completed our Analysis of the House of Commons—which was dissolved just as this sheet was passing through the press—and we apprehend that the details we have collected, at the cost of no trifling labour, relative to the character of the members, and the tenure by which many of them hold their seats, are adequate to convince the most sceptical of the absolute necessity of a thorough reform in the representative system, and to furnish a justification for the ministers in the course which the king has, upon their responsibility, adopted.

The following is an abstract of the whole:—

204 English boroughs return 406 members to the house of commons; 76 of these boroughs (returning 152 members) have a smaller number of voters than 100 each, and 44 of them (returning 88 members) have a smaller number of voters than 50 each.

12 *Welsh boroughs* return 12 members.

34 *Irish boroughs* return 35 members, of whom 30, at least, are the nominees of peers, and other borough proprietors.

66 *Scotch burghs* (town councils) return 15 members.

40 *English counties* return 80 members.

12 *Welsh counties* return 12 members

32 *Irish counties* return 64 members, of whom 30 are returned by the ascendant influence of peers.

30 *Scotch counties* (parchments) return 30 members.

Open boroughs. 140 English members are returned for open boroughs.

Patronage of Peers. 89 peers are patrons of 123 boroughs in England, Wales, and Ireland, returning 175 members.

Patronage of Commoners. 65 commoners are patrons of 70 boroughs, returning 99 members.

Government Patronage. Government has six boroughs returning nine members.

Thus it appears, that 293 members are returned, not by

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the people, but by the patronage of peers, commoners, and the government—to say nothing of the Scotch representation, which is thoroughly rotten, and of the commanding influence of peers and great commoners in the county representation of England, Ireland and Wales. When these are taken into account, it will appear that a very great majority of the house of commons (which consists of 658 members) is returned by the influence of less than two hundred peers and commoners! It will farther be seen, that of the 204 English boroughs, 76 of them are so insignificant either in their total population, or in their number of voters, as to have fewer than 100 electors each, and 44 of these boroughs have even fewer than 50 electors each. This is a striking proof of the decay in the representative system—the effect of "the great innovator," Time. The 45 Scotch members are returned by between 3 and 4,000 voters in the whole.

Let us also look at the description of persons who thus fill the seats in the people's house, and legislate for their property and lives. There are

Relations of peers	249
Placemen and pensioners	62
Relations of placemen and pensioners	52
Officers in the army, navy, and militia	109
Lawyers	61
Bankers	28
East and West India proprietors	80

Looking at the house in another point of view, we find—

Nominees of peers and others	298
Nominees of self appointed corporations	39
Government borough members	9
Members for the Scotch counties under aristocratic domination	30
	376
Members openly elected	282
Total number of members	658
Majority nominated against the people	94

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But we must not lose sight of the fact, that this majority is greatly increased by the overwhelming influence, and in many places the absolute control, which is exercised by the large landed proprietors in most of the counties, and in several of the open boroughs.

The whole of these members have interests in opposition to those of the people, and when to these glaring defects in the representative system, are added the bribery and corruption practised, in consequence of the mode in which the votes are taken—the prolonged continuance of elections, with all their riot and debauchery—the difficulties of voting in counties, and the nuisance of non-resident voters—we may well exclaim, how vast a space is there for reformation!—We may add, how vast are the obstacles which a reforming administration has to overcome.

Among the great borough proprietors or patrons, we find the following:—

	Boroughs.	*Members.*
Marquis of Aylesbury	2	4
Duke of Buckingham	3	5
Marquis of Cleveland	3	6
Earl Fitzwilliam	3	5
Earl Grosvenor	4	6
Marquis of Hertford	4	6
Earl of Lonsdale	4	6
Duke of Newcastle	4	6
Duke of Northumberland	2	4
Duke of Devonshire	4	5
Earl of Powis	3	5
Earl Radnor	2	3
Duke of Rutland	3	4
Earl of St. Germain's	2	4
Mr. A. Baring	2	3
Mr. Buller	2	3
The Holmes Family	2	4
Mr. Pitt	3	4

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DIVISION ON THE REFORM BILL.

THERE were three or four new members introduced into the house, during the time these sheets were passing through the press, whose names could not be inserted in their alphabetical order. Such of them as took their seats previous to the division on the reform bill, will be found in the following list, and as a member's vote upon this great question is now properly considered to be the test of his character, nothing further need here be said of them.

An analysis of the names of the members who divided upon the important occasion just referred to, will exhibit another argument, and perhaps a more cogent one than could in any other way be advanced, for an immediate and radical reform of the house of commons. The total number of members, deducting the vacancies for Evesham, Colchester, Durham, Nairn, Londonderry, and Clare*, was 651. Of these, there were in the division, 603, and 15 paired off, leaving but 30 members absent, from sickness, moral indisposition, and other causes—a larger house than was ever before known to go to a division. On the catholic question, the numbers on the division amounted to 462; and on the civil list, to 441. But let us look, for a moment, at the elements of which the minority and the majority upon this question are composed, and endeavour to estimate their relative value. Those boroughs for which the members are nominated by individuals, have a large majority against the bill: of this class we find 80 votes for ministers, and 140 against them. The open boroughs, on the other hand, display a greater relative majority for the bill, than the preceding class does against it; there being of these open borough votes, 86 for the bill, and 35 against it. Of county members, there is a majority of 95, against 60, in favour of the proposed measure. In the Scotch representation, which is notoriously and flagrantly corrupt—there being scarcely one member returned by the voice of the people—the preponderance of members against the bill is 15; there being 11, for it, and 26 against it.

It is hence easy enough to perceive in what quarter the evil is most dense and desperate. Some, indeed, object, that the plan of reform submitted by ministers is not sufficiently extensive for the exigence of the people; but by a reference to the preponderance of boroughmongering influence, as above stated, every candid person must acknowledge that the present

* Some of these vacancies were subsequently filled up, thus:—Colchester—Mr. Mayhew, a reformer; Durham—Mr. Chaytor, a reformer; Nairn—the old member, good for nothing; Londonderry—sir R. Fergusson, a reformer; Clare—Maurice O' Connell, son of the member for Waterford, and a reformer.

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remedy would remove a vast portion of the evil under which the representative system is suffering.

How obvious is the necessity of reformation rendered by the result of this division! While the whole country is animated by but one unanimous feeling on the subject, the assembly which pretends to represent the national sentiments and wishes, is somewhat about equally divided as to the propriety of the intended change! And even the majority of *one*, which the ministers had in the division, resulted more from interested design than from honest principle. There are forty-two members who voted in favour of the second reading of the bill, who have constantly opposed every previous motion for a reform in the British representation. The *object* of these trust-worthy and illuminated sages is very distinct and glaring—They had sufficient prescience to know that parliament must be dissolved, whilst by giving their specious suffrages in support of the bill, they endeavoured to assume the character of liberality and justice, in the estimation of their constituents, before whom they would have to appear. So that by playing the "wolf in sheep's clothing" they imagined to be again returned, and thence to acquire the power either to frustrate, or at least delay, the measure, which the whole country is so eager to see completed.

Independent of the forty-two members above alluded to, there are others who, though they voted for the second reading, avowed their intention to oppose the bill in the committee, unless it should be so modified in its provisions as to be essentially changed; that is, be rendered unworthy of acceptance.

Those members who voted for the measure are marked by *a*; those against it, by *n*; those who paired off in favour of it, by **p*; those who paired off against it, by †*p*; and those who were absent, by —. The forty-two members marked with a ‡, voted under suspicious circumstances, having uniformly opposed all previous motions for a reform in the House of Commons. It is certain, in fact, that several of them only reserved their opposition, until the bill went into the committee, where they conceived their chances of success against its details, would be more efficient.

The asterisk (*) preceding the name, distinguishes the members for the boroughs to be partially disfranchised; the double asterisk, (**) those to be wholly disfranchised.

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Division on the Second Reading of the Reform Bill.

Abercromby, G R	Kinross	*a*
Acheson, lord	Armagh county	*a*
Acland, sir T D	Devonshire	‡ *a*
**A'Court, E H	Heytesbury	*n*
Adeane, H J	Cambridgeshire	*a*
Agnew, sir A	Wigtonshire	*a*
**Alexander J	Old Sarum	*n*
**Alexander, J T P	Ditto	*n*
Althorp, viscount	Northamptonshire	*a*
Anson, sir G	Lichfield	*a*
* Anson, G	Yarmouth	*a*
*Antrobus, G C	Plympton-Earle	*n*
Apsley, lord	Cirencester	*n*
Arbuthnott, H	Kincardineshire	*n*
**Archdeckne, A	Dunwich	*a*
Archdall, M	Fermanagh county	† *p*
*Ashley, lord	Dorchester	*n*
Astell, W	Bridgewater	*n*
Astley, sir J D	Wiltshire	‡ *a*
*Atkins, Alderman	Arundel	*n*
**Attwood, M	Boroughbridge	*n*
Baillie, J E	Bristol	*a*
*Baillie, H D	Rye	*a*
Baillie, lieut-colonel	Fortrose	*n*
Bainbridge, E T	Taunton	*a*
*Baldwin, C B	Totness	*n*
Balfour J	West Anstruther	*n*
**Bankes, G	Corfe Castle	*n*
*Bankes, W J	Marlborough	*n*
Bankes, H	Dorsetshire	*n*
**Baring, A	Ditto	*n*
**Baring, W B	Callington	*a*
Baring, F T	Portsmouth	*a*
*Baring, F	Thetford	*a*
Baring, sir T	Chipping Wycomb	‡ *a*
**Barne, F	Dunwich	—
Bastard J	Dartmouth	*n*
Bateson, sir R	Londonderry county	*n*
Bayntun, S A	York	*a*
Beaumont, T W	Northumberland	*a*
**Beckett, sir J	Haslemere	*n*
Belfast, earl of	County of Antrim	‡ *a*
Belgrave, viscount	Cheshire	*a*
Bell, M	Northumberland county	*n*
Benett, J	Wiltshire	*a*
Bentinck, lord W G C	King's Lynn.	*a*
Beresford, sir J P	Northallerton	*n*

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Beresford, M	-	Berwick	*n*
Beresford, lord G T	-	Waterford county	*n*
Bernal, R	-	Rochester	*a*
Bernard, Viscount	-	Bandon-Bridge	*n*
Bernard, T	-	King's county	‡ *a*
Bethell, R	-	Yorkshire	*a*
Biddulph, R. M	-	Denbigh	*a*
**Blackett, C	-	Beeralston	*n*
Blake, Sir F	-	Berwick	*a*
Blair, W	-	Ayrshire	*n*
**Blandford, Marquis of	-	New Woodstock	*a*
Blayney, C D	-	Monaghan county	*n*
**Blount, E	-	Steyning	*a*
*Bonham, F R	-	Rye	*n*
Borradaile, R	-	Newcastle-under-Lyne	† *p*
*Bouverie, P P	-	Cockermouth	*a*
Bouverie, D P	-	New Sarum	*a*
Boyle, Lord	-	County of Cork	*a*
Boyle, J	-	Cork	‡ *a*
Brabazon, Lord	-	County of Dublin	*a*
**Bradshaw, R H	-	Brackley	—
Bradshaw, J	-	Ditto	*a*
Briscoe, J I	-	Surrey	*a*
*Brogden, J	-	Launceston	† *p*
*Brougham, J	-	Downton	*a*
Browne, W	-	County of Kerry	*a*
Browne, J	-	County of Mayo	*a*
Browne, D	-	County of Mayo	*a*
Brownlow, C	-	County of Armagh	*a*
**Bruce, M	-	Ilchester	*a*
**Brudenell, Lord	-	Fowey	*n*
Bruen, H	-	County of Carlow	*n*
Brydges, Sir J W H	-	Coleraine	*n*
Buck, L W	-	Exeter	‡ *a*
Bulkeley, Sir R W B	-	Beaumaris	*a*
Buller, J	-	Exeter	*a*
**Buller, C	-	West Looe	*a*
*Bulwer, H L	-	Wilton	—
Bunbury, Sir H E	-	Suffolk	*a*
Burdett, Sir F	-	Westminster	*a*
*Burge, W.	-	Eye	*n*
Burke, Sir J	-	County of Galway	*a*
*Burrard, G	-	Lymington	*n*
Burrell, sir C M	-	New Shoreham	* *p*
Burrell, W	-	Sussex	—
Burton, H	-	Beverley	*a*
**Buxton, J J	-	Great Bedwin	*n*
*Buxton, T F	-	Weymouth	*a*
Byng, G	-	Middlesex	*a*

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**Byng, G S	- -	Milborn Port	- a
**Calcraft, J	- -	Wareham	- - a
Callaghan, D	- -	Cork	- - - a
**Calthorpe, Hon. F G	-	Bramber	- - a
Calvert, C	- -	Southwark	- - a
Calvert, N	- - -	Hertfordshire	- a
*Calvert, J	- - -	Huntingdon	- - n
Campbell, W F	- -	Argyleshire	- - a
Campbell, A	- -	Renfrew	- - n
Campbell, J	- -	Stafford	- - a
Campbell, Captain	-	Nairnshire	- - —
**Capel, J	- - -	Queenborough	- n
Carnegie, Sir J	- -	Aberdeen	- - n
**Carrington, Sir C E	-	St. Mawes	- - n
Cartwright, W R	-	Northamptonshire	- n
Carter, J B	- - -	Portsmouth	- - a
Castlereagh, Viscount	-	County of Down	- n
Cavendish, H F C	- -	Derby Town	- a
Cavendish, W	- -	Cambridge University	a
Cavendish, Lord G A M	-	Derbyshire	- - —
Cecil Lord T	- -	Stamford	- - a
Chandos, Marquis	-	Buckinghamshire	- n
Chaplin, C	- - -	Lincolnshire	- - n
Chaplin, T	- - -	Stamford	- - n
Chapman, M L	- -	Westmeath county	- a
Cholmeley, M J	- -	Grantham	- - a
**Cholmondeley, Lord H H		Castle Rising	- n
Chichester, Sir A	- -	Belfast	- - - ‡ a
Chichester, Lieut.-Col.	-	Wexford county	- a
**Churchill, Lord C S	-	New Woodstock	- n
Clements, J M	- -	County of Leitrim	- n
Clerk, sir George	-	Edinburghshire	- n
**Clinton, C J F	- -	Aldborough	- - n
Clive, Viscount	- -	Ludlow	- - n
Clive, R H	- - -	Ludlow	- - n
Clive, H	- - -	Montgomery	- n
Clive, E B	- - -	Hereford	- - - a
Cockburn, Sir G	- -	Plymouth	- - n
**Cocks, J.	- -	Reigate	- - n
Coke, T W	- - -	Norfolk	- - - a
Colborne, N W R	- -	Horsham	- - a
Cole, A H	- - -	Enniskillen	- - —
**Constable, Sir T A	-	Hedon	- - n
**Cornewall, F H	- -	Bishop's-castle	- n
Cotterell, Sir J G	- -	Herefordshire	- n
Cooper, E J	- - -	County of Sligo	- n
Coote, E	- - -	Clonmell	- - n
Coote, Sir C H	- -	Queen's county	- n

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Corry, H T L	–	County of Tyrone	*n*
Corry, Viscount	–	Fermanagh county	*n*
**Cooke, Sir H P	–	Orford	† *p*
Craddock, J H	–	Dundalk	—
*Courtenay, T P	–	Totness	*n*
**Cradock, S	–	Camelford	‡ *a*
**Crampton, P C	–	Saltash	*a*
Cripps, J	–	Cirencester	*a*
**Croker, J W	–	Aldeburgh	*n*
Curteis, H B	–	Sussex	*a*
*Curzon, R	–	Clitherow	*n*
*Cust, P F	–	Clitherow	*n*
**Cust, E	–	Lestwithiel	*n*
Dalrymple, Sir A J	–	Haddington	*n*
**Darlington, Earl of	–	Saltash	*n*
Davies, T H H	–	Worcester	*a*
Davis, R H	–	Bristol	*n*
Dawson, A	–	County of Louth	*a*
Dawson, G R	–	Harwich	*n*
Denison, W J	–	Surrey	*a*
Denman, Sir T	–	Nottingham	*a*
Dering, Sir E C	–	Wexford	*n*
*Dick, Q	–	Maldon	*n*
Dickenson, W	–	Somersetshire	*n*
**Domville, Sir C	–	Plympton Earle	*n*
Dottin, A R	–	Southampton	*n*
Douglas, M R K	–	Dumfries	*n*
Douglas, C	–	Lanarkshire	*n*
**Douro, Marquis of	–	Aldeburgh	*n*
Dowdeswell, J E	–	Tewkesbury	*n*
*Drake, T T	–	Agmondesham	*n*
*Drake, W T	–	Ditto	*n*
Drummond, H H	–	Stirlingshire	*n*
Duff, A	–	Elgin	*n*
*Dugdale, W S	–	Shaftesbury	*n*
Dugdale, D S	–	Warwickshire	*a*
Duncannon, Viscount	–	Kilkenny county	*a*
Duncombe, W	–	Yorkshire	*n*
Duncombe, A	–	East Retford	*n*
Duncombe, T S	–	Hertford	*a*
**Dundas, H	–	Winchelsea	*n*
Dundas, R A	–	Ipswich	*n*
Dundas, Right Hon. W	–	Edinburgh	*n*
Dundas, W	–	Edinburgh city	† *p*
*Dundas, J C	–	Richmond	*a*
Dundas, T	–	York	*a*
*Dundas, Sir R L	–	Richmond	*a*
Dundas, C	–	Berkshire	*a*

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East, Sir E H	–	Winchester	*n*
Eastnor, Viscount	–	Hereford	*n*
Ebrington, Viscount	–	Devonshire	*a*
Egerton, W	–	Cheshire	*n*
Egerton, Sir P	–	Chester	*n*
*Egerton, W T	–	Lymington	*n*
Ellice, E	–	Coventry	*a*
**Ellis, G J W A	–	Okehampton	*a*
*Eliot, Lord	–	Liskeard	*n*
*Encombe, Viscount	–	Truro	*n*
*Estcourt, T H S B	–	Marlborough	*n*
Estcourt, T G B	–	Oxford University	*n*
Euston, Earl of	–	Bury St. Edmonds	*n*
Evans, W	–	Leicester	*a*
Ewart, W	–	Liverpool	‡*a*
**Ewing, J	–	Wareham	*n*
Fane, J	–	Oxfordshire	‡*a*
Fane, Sir H	–	Hastings	*n*
*Fane, H S	–	Lyme Regis	*n*
*Fane, J T	–	Lyme Regis	*n*
Fardell, J	–	Lincoln	*n*
**Farrand, R	–	Hedon	*n*
Fazarkerley, J N	–	Peterborough	*a*
Fergusson, R C	–	Kirkcudbright	*a*
Ferguson, Sir R C	–	Nottingham	*a*
Fitzgerald, Lord W C	–	County of Kildare	*a*
Fitzgibbon, R	–	County Limerick	*a*
Fitzgerald, M	–	County of Kerry	*n*
**Fitzgerald, J	–	Seaford	†*p*
*Fitzroy, Lord James	–	Thetford	*a*
Fleming, J	–	Hampshire	*n*
**Foley, E T	–	Ludgershall	*n*
*Foley, J H H	–	Droitwich	*a*
Foley, T H	–	Worcestershire	*a*
Folkes, W J H B	–	Norfolk	*a*
Fordwich, Lord	–	Canterbury	*a*
Forrester, G C W	–	Wenloch	*n*
**Forbes, Sir C	–	Malmesbury	*n*
**Forbes, J	–	Malmesbury	*n*
Forbes, Viscount	–	Longford county	*n*
**Fortescue, G M	–	Hindon	*a*
*Frankland, R	–	Thirsk	—
**Freemantle, Sir T F	–	Buckingham	*n*
Freshfield, J W	–	Penryn	*n*
French, A	–	Roscommon county	*a*
Fyler, T B	–	Coventry	*a*
*Garlies, Viscount	–	Cockermouth	‡*a*
Gascoyne, I	–	Liverpool	†*p*

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*Gilbert, D	Bodmin		*n*
Gisborne, T	Stafford		*a*
**Gladstone, T	Queenborough		*a*
Gordon, W	Aberdeenshire		*n*
Gordon, R	Cricklade		*a*
*Gordon, Sir J W G	Launceston		—
Gordon, J A	Tregony		*n*
*Gordon, J	Weymouth		*n*
Gore, W O	Caernarvon		*n*
Goulburn, H	Armagh		*n*
Gower, Lord F L	Sutherlandshire		*n*
Graham, Sir J R G	Cumberland		*a*
Graham, Sir S	Ludgershall		*a*
Graham, Lord M W	Dumbartonshire		*n*
Graham, Marquis of	Cambridge town		*n*
Grant, F W	Elginshire		*n*
Grant, R	Norwich		*a*
Grant, C	Inverness-shire		*a*
Grant, Sir A	Westbury		*n*
Grattan, J	Wicklow county		*a*
Greene, T	Lancaster		‡*a*
Gresley, Sir R	New Romney		*n*
Greville, Sir C J	Warwick		*n*
Grimston, Viscount	St. Albans		*n*
Grosvenor, R	Chester		*a*
*Guest, J J	Honiton		*a*
Guise, sir W B	Gloucestershire		*a*
Gurney R H	Norwich		*a*
**Gurney H.	Newtown		—
Gunning, sir R H	Northampton		*n*
Handcock R	Athlone		*n*
Handley W F	Newark-on-Trent		*a*
**Hardinge, sir H	Newport, Cornwall		*n*
*Harris G	Great Grimsby		*n*
Hart, G V	Donegall county		*n*
Harvey, D W	Colchester		*a*
Hastings, sir C A	Leicester		*n*
**Hawkins, J H	St. Michaels		*a*
Hay, lord J	Haddingtonshire		*n*
Heathcote, sir W	Hampshire		*n*
Heathcote, sir G	Rutlandshire		*a*
Heron, sir R	Peterborough		*a*
Herries, J	Harwich		*n*
Hill, sir R	Salop		*n*
Hill, lord G A	Carrickfergus		‡*a*
Hill, lord A	Down county		*a*
Hobhouse, J	Westminster		*a*
Hodges, T L	Kent		*a*

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Hodgson, J	Newcastle-upon-Tyne		a
**Holmes, W	Haslemere		n
*Holmesdale, viscount	East Grimstead		n
**Hope, J T	Gatton		n
**Hope, H T	East Looe		n
Hope, sir A	Linlithgow		n
**Horne, sir W	Bletchingly		a
*Hotham, lord	Leominster		n
Houldsworth, A H	Dartmouth		n
**Houldsworth, T	Newton		n
Howard, P H	Carlisle		a
*Howard, W	Morpeth		a
Howard, H	New Shoreham		a
Howard, R	Wicklow county		a
**Howard, F G	Castle Rising		n
Howick, viscount	Higham Ferrars		a
Hoy, J B	Southampton		n
Hughes, H W	Oxford city		a
*Hughes, W L	Wallingford		a
**Hulse, sir C	West Looe		n
Hume, J	Middlesex		a
Hunt, H	Preston		a
Ingestrie, viscount	Hertford		n
Ingilby, sir W A	Lincolnshire		‡a
Inglis, sir R H	Oxford University		n
**Irving, J	Bramber		n
Jeffrey F	Forfar		a
Jenkins, R	Shrewsbury		n
Jermingham, H V B	Pontefract		a
Jermyn, earl	Bury St. Edmunds		n
Jephson, C D O	Mallow		a
Johnston, J	Inverkeithing		a
Johnstone, J J H	Dumfries-shire		a
Johnstone, sir J V B	Yorkshire		a
**Joliffe, sir W G H	Petersfield		n
**Joliffe, G E	Ditto		n
Jones, T	Londonderry county		n
Jones, J	Caermarthen		n
Kavanagh, T	Carlow county		—
Kearsley, J H	Wigan		a
Keck, G A L	Leicestershire		n
**Kemmis, T A	East Looe		n
Kemp, T R	Lewes		a
Kennedy, T F	Ayr		a
**Kenyon, L	St. Michaels		n
**Kerrison, sir E	Eye		n
Killen, lord	Meath county		a
**Kilderbee, sir H	Orford		n

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*King sir J D	Chipping Wycomb	–	*n*
King, R	Cork county	–	‡*a*
King, H	Sligo county	–	‡*a*
Knatchbull, sir E	Kent	–	**p*
*Knight R	Wallingford	–	*a*
Knox, J J	Dungannon	–	‡*a*
Knox, J H	Newry	–	*n*
Labouchere, H	Taunton	–	*a*
Lamb, G	Dungarvon	–	*a*
Lambert, J S	Galway county	–	*a*
Langston, J H	Oxford city	–	*a*
*Lascelles, H	Northallerton	–	*n*
Lawley, F	Warwickshire	–	*a*
Leader, N P	Kilkenny	–	*a*
Lee, J L	Wells	–	*a*
**Lefevre, G S	Downton	–	*a*
Lefroy, A	Longford county	–	*n*
Lefroy, T	Dublin University	–	*n*
**Legh, T	Newton		—
*Lemon, sir C	Penryn		*a*
*Lennard T B	Malden		*a*
Lennox, lord J G	Chichester		*a*
Leslie, C P	New Ross		—
Lester B L	Poole		*a*
Lewis, T F	Radnorshire		*n*
Lindsay, J	Wigan		*n*
Lloyd, sir E P	Flint		*a*
*Loch, J.	Hythe		*a*
Loch, J	Kirkwall		**p*
Lock, James	Tain		*a*
Loughborough lord	Dysart		*n*
Lowther, J H	Wigton		*n*
Lowther, sir J	Cumberland		*n*
Lowther, viscount	Westmorland		*n*
Lowther, H C	Westmorland		*n*
Lumley, J S	Nottinghamshire		*a*
Lushington, J L	Carlisle		*n*
**Luttrell, J F	Minehead		*n*
Lygon, H P	Worcestershire		*n*
**Lyon, D	Beeralston		*n*
**Lyons, W	Seaford		*n*
Lyttleton, E J	Staffordshire		*a*
Maberly, J	Abingdon		*a*
Macauley, T B	Calne		*a*
Macdonald, sir J	Calne		*a*
**Mackillop, J	Tregony		*n*
Mackinnon, C.	Ipswich		*n*
Mackintosh, sir J	Knaresborough		*a*

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Mackenzie, sir J W ..	Ross-shire	—
Macnamara, W N	Clare county	*a*
**Mahon, viscount	Wootten-Basset ..	*n*
**Maitland, viscount ..	Appleby	*n*
*Majoribanks, S	Hythe	*a*
Maitland, captain A ..	Berwickshire	*n*
Malcolm N	Boston	*n*
Mandeville, viscount ..	Huntingdonshire ..	*n*
Manners, lord R	Leicestershire	*n*
*Marryatt, J	Sandwich	*n*
*Marshall, W	Leominster	*a*
Martin sir T B	Plymouth	‡*a*
Martin J	Tewkesbury	*a*
Maule, W R	Forfarshire	*a*
Maxwell, H	Cavan county	*n*
M'Clintock, J	Louth county	*n*
Meynell, H	Lisburne	*n*
**Milbank, M	Camelford	*a*
Mildmay. P St. J	Winchester	‡*a*
**Miles, P J	Corfe Castle	*n*
**Miles, W	New Romney	*n*
Miller, W H	Newcastle-under-Lyne	*n*
Morgan, C M R	Brecon	*a*
Morgan, sir C	Monmouthshire ..	‡*a*
Monteith, H	Lanark	*n*
Montgomery, sir G ..	Peebles-shire	—
Moore, G	Dublin city	*n*
Morison, J	Banffshire	—
Morpeth, viscount	Yorkshire	*a*
*Morrison J	St. Ives	*a*
Mostyn, sir T	Flintshire	*a*
Mountcharles, earl	Donegal county ..	‡*a*
Mundy, F	Derbyshire	‡*a*
Murray, sir G	Perthshire	*n*
*Neeld, J	Chippenham	*n*
Newark, lord	East Retford	*a*
Newport sir J.	Waterford	**p*
**Nicholl, sir J.	Great Bedwin	*n*
Noel, sir G N	Rutlandshire	‡*a*
Norreys, lord	Oxfordshire	*n*
North, J H	Drogheda	*n*
**Nugent, sir G	Buckingham	*n*
Nugent earl	Aylesbury	*a*
O'Brien, W S	Ennis	—
O'Connell, D	Waterford county ..	*a*
O'Connor, O – –	Roscommon county –	*a*
O'Ferral, R M – –	Kildare county –	*a*
Ogle, Sir C – – –	Portarlington – –	*n*

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O'Grady. S	–	Limerick county	a
O'Hara, J	–	Galway county	‡ a
O'Neill, J B R	–	Antrim county	a
*Ord, W	–	Morpeth	a
Osborne, Lord F G	–	Cambridgeshire	‡ a
Ossory, Earl of	–	Kilkenny county	a
Owen, Sir J	–	Pembrokeshire	n
Owen, H O	–	Pembroke	n
Oxmantown, Lord	–	King's county	‡ a
*Palk, Sir L V	–	Ashburton	n
Palmer, C	–	Bath	a
Palmer, R	–	Berkshire	‡ a
Palmer, C F	–	Reading	a
Palmerston, Viscount	–	Cambridge University	a
Parnell, Sir H	–	Queen's county	a
Patten, J W	–	Lancashire	a
*Peach, N W	–	Truro	n
Pearse J	–	Devizes	n
*Pechell, Sir S J P	–	Helleston	—
**Pellham C A W	–	Newtown	a
Pelham J C	–	Salop	n
*Peel, Sir R	–	Tamworth	n
Peel, W Y	–	Yarmouth	n
Pendarves, E W W	–	Cornwall	a
Penefather, M	–	Cashel	n
*Penrhyn, E	–	Shaftesbury	a
*Penruddock, J H	–	Wilton	n
Perceval, S	–	Newport, Isle of Wight	n
Petit, L H	–	Ripon	‡ a
Philpotts, J	–	Gloucester	a
Phillips, Sir R B D	–	Haverfordwest	‡ a
**Phillips, G R	–	Steyning	a
Phipps, E	–	Scarborough	n
*Pigot G G W	–	St. Mawes	n
Pitt, J	–	Cricklade	n
Planta, J	–	Hastings	n
Polhill, F	–	Bedford	a
Pollen, Sir J W	–	Andover	n
Ponsonby, B W F S	–	Poole	a
Ponsonby, G	–	Youghall	a
Portman, E B	–	Dorsetshire	a
Powell, W E	–	Cardiganshire	*p
Powlett, Lord. W J F	–	Durham	a
*Poyntz, W S	–	Ashburton	a
*Praed, W M	–	St. Germains	n
*Prendergast, M G	–	Westbury	‡ a
Price, R	–	New Radnor	n
*Price, S G	–	Sandwich	n

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*Pringle, Sir W H	Liskeard	n
Pringle, A	Selkirkshire	n
Price, Sir R	Herefordshire	a
Prittie, F A	Tipperary county	a
Pryse, F	Cardigan	a
*Pusey, P	Chippenham	n
Rae, Sir W	Bute	n
*Raine, J	Newport, Cornwall	n
Ramsbottom, J	Windsor	a
Ramsden, J C	Malton	a
Reid, Sir J R	Dover	n
Rice, T S	Limerick	a
Rickford, W	Aylesbury	a
Ridley, Sir W M	Newcastle upon-Tyne	a
*Robarts, A W	Maidstone	a
Roberts, W A	Bewdley	n
Robinson, Sir G	Northampton	a
Robinson, G R	Worcester	a
Rochfort, G	Westmeath county	n
**Rogers E	Bishop's Castle	n
Rose, Sir G H	Christchurch	n
Rose, G P	Christchurch	n
*Ross, C	St. Germains	n
Rumbold, C E	Great Yarmouth	—
Russell, Lord J	Tavistock	a
Russell, Lord W	Tavistock	a
Russell, W	Durham	a
Russell, C.	Reading	a
*Russell, R G	Thirsk	a
Russell, J	Kinsale	a
Ruthven, E S	Downpatrick	a
Ryder, G D	Tiverton	n
Sadler M T	Newark upon Trent	n
Sandford, E A	Somersetshire	a
Sandon Viscount	Tiverton	‡a
Saunderson A	Cavan county	*p
Scarlett, Sir J	Malton	n
Schonswar G	Kingston upon Hull	a
*Scott Sir S	Whitchurch	n
Scott H F	Roxburghshire	n
Sebright, Sir J S	Hertfordshire	a
Sefton, Earl of	Droitwich	a
**Severn, J C	Fowey	n
*Seymour, H B	Bodmin	n
**Seymour, Lord	Okehampton	n
Shaw, F	City of Dublin	n
**Sheil, R L	Milborn Port	a
**Shelly, J V	Gatton	n

Shelley, Sir J		Lewes	*n*
Shirley, E J		Monaghan county	*n*
Sibthorp, C D L W		Lincoln	*n*
Slaney, R A		Shrewsbury	*a*
Smith, Sir C E		Pontefract	—
**Smith, G		Midhurst	—
Smith, R		Buckinghamshire	*a*
Smith, J		Chichester	*a*
**Smith, J A		Midhurst	*a*
Smith, T A		Andover	*n*
**Smith, S		Wendover	*n*
**Smith, A		Wendover	*n*
Smith, R V		Tralee	*a*
Somerset, Ld. R E H		Gloucestershire	*n*
Somerset, Ld. G C H		Monmouthshire	*n*
Somerville, Sir M		Meath county	‡ *a*
Sotheron, F		Nottinghamshire	*n*
Spence, G		Ripon	‡ *a*
Stanley, Lord		Lancashire	*a*
Stanley, E G S		Windsor	*a*
**Stanley, W S		Stockbridge	*n*
**Staunton, Sir G T		Heytesbury	*a*
Stewart, Sir M S		Renfrewshire	*a*
Stewart, Sir H		Tyrone county	*n*
Stevens, S L		Barnstaple	*n*
Stewart, P M		Lancaster	*a*
**Stormont, Visct.		Aldborough	*n*
**St. Paul, Sir H D C		Bridport	*n*
Strathaven, Lord		Huntingdonshire	‡ *a*
Strutt, E		Derby	*a*
*Stuart, Lord D C		Arundel	*a*
Stuart, Lord P J H C		Cardiff	*a*
Stuart, W		Bedfordshire	*n*
*Stuart, J		Huntingdon	*n*
Stuart, H V		Banbury	*n*
*Sugden, Sir E B		Weymouth	*n*
*Sumner, G H		Guildford	*n*
Surrey, Earl of		Horsham	‡ *a*
Sykes D		Beverley	**p*
Talbot, C R		Glamorganshire	*a*
Tavistock, Marquis of		Bedfordshire	**p*
Taylor, G W		Devizes	*n*
Taylor, M A		Durham	*a*
Tennant, C		St. Albans	*a*
Tennyson, C		Bletchingly	*a*
Thomson, C P		Dover	*a*
Thompson, Alderman		London	*a*
Thompson, P B		Wenlock	*a*

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**Thompson, G L	Yarmouth	*n*
Thynne, Lord J	Bath	*n*
**Thynne, Lord H F	Weobly	*n*
**Thynne, Lord W	Weobly	—
Tomes, J	Warwick	*a*
**Tomline, W E	Minehead	*n*
*Townshend, Lord C V F	Tamworth	—
Townshend, Lord J N B	Helleston	*n*
**Townshend, H G P	Whitchurch	*n*
Traill, G	Orkney	*a*
Trench, F W	Cambridge Town	*n*
Trevor, G R	Caermarthenshire	*n*
Tudor, G	Barnstaple	*n*
**Tufton, H	Appleby	*a*
**Tunno, E R	Bossiney	*n*
Tullamore, Lord	Carlow county	*n*
Twiss, H	Newport, Isle of Wight	*n*
Tynte, C K K	Bridgewater	*a*
Tyrrell, C	Suffolk	*a*
Tyrrell, J T	Essex	*n*
*Ure, M	Weymouth	*n*
Uxbridge, Earl of	Anglesey	‡ *a*
Valentia, Viscount	Wexford county	*n*
**Valletort, Viscount	Lestwithiel	*n*
Vaughan, Sir R W	Merionethshire	*n*
Vaughan, J E	Wells	*n*
**Vere, J J H	Ilchester	*a*
Vernon, G G	Lichfield	‡ *a*
**Villiers, T H	Wootton Basset	‡ *a*
Villiers, Lord	Rochester	*n*
Vivyan, Sir R R	Cornwall	*n*
Walpole, J	King's Lynn	‡ *a*
*Wall, C B	Guildford	*n*
*Walrond, B	Sudbury	—
*Walsh, Sir J B	Sudbury	*n*
Waithman, Alderman	London	*a*
*Warburton, H	Bridport	*a*
Waterpark, Lord	Knaresborough	*a*
Watson, R	Canterbury	*a*
Ward, W	London	*n*
*Warrender, Sir G	Honiton	*n*
Webb, E	Gloucester	*a*
*Wellesley, W T P L	St. Ives	*a*
Wemyss, J	Fifeshire	*a*
Welby, G E	Grantham	*n*
*West, F R	East Grimstead	*n*
**Wetherell, Sir C	Boroughbridge	*n*
Western, C C	Essex	*a*

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**Weyland J	Hindon		a
Whitbread, W H	Bedford		a
Whitmore, W W	Bridgenorth		a
Whitmore, T	Bridgenorth		n
White, H	Dublin county		a
White, S	Leitrim county		a
**Wilbraham, G	Stockbridge		a
Wilkes, J	Boston		a
**Williams, J	Winchelsea		—
Williams, O	Great Marlow		n
*Williams, T P	Ditto		n
*Williams, R	Dorchester		n
Wilson, Sir R T	Southwark		a
Winchester, H	Maidstone		n
Wood, Alderman	London		a
Wood, T	Brecknockshire		‡ a
*Wood, C	Grimsby		a
Wood, J	Preston		a
Worcester, Marquis of	Monmouth		n
**Wortley, T S	Bossiney		n
Wrightson, W B	Kingston upon Hull		a
Wrottesley, Sir J	Staffordshire		*p
Wyndham, W	New Sarum		n
Wynn, Sir W W	Denbighshire		‡ a
Wynn, C W W	Montgomeryshire		a
Wynne, C W G	Caernarvonshire		n
Wynne, J	Sligo		n
Wyse, T	Tipperary county		a
**York, Sir J S	Reigate		n

.....

The following is an analysis of the votes, and shews the relative strength of corruption in the various classes of seats—

Nomina. Boro's.		Open Boro's		Counties		Scotland		Ireland	
for	against.	for	agst.	for	agst.	for	agst.	for	agst.
80	140	86	35	95	60	11	26	53	39

The following summary of the votes of the house during the session of 1823, gives nearly the same result: it illustrates the votes both for and against ministers, on 14 questions divided on, and the minorities on 36 questions; distinguishing 89 members who held places, the emoluments of which, in the aggregate, amounted to 183,372*l.* 8*s.* 11½*d.* per annum. It also distinguishes about 40 other members, such as the sons, or brothers, or dependants of the lord president of the council, and of the secretary of state for the colonies, who received about 20,000*l.* per annum out of the taxes, not included in the above-mentioned sum of 183,372*l.* 8*s.* 11½*d.*

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Members who Voted.	*For Ministers.*	*Against Ministers.*	*Both.*	*Not at all.*	*Total.*
From 48 counties of England	25	37	10	8	80
From 12 ditto and 12 towns in Wales	13	9	1	1	24
From 89 cities and boroughs, open elections	57	107	5	11	180
From 99 ditto ditto, in which the suffrage was vested in burgage tenures or self-elected corporations, and consequently resolved into individual influence ...	151	12	5	28	196
From 15 ditto ditto ditto	—	29	—	—	29
From 2 Universities	3	—	—	1	4
From 33 counties and 66 Royal burghs in Scotland	25	11	—	9	45
From 32 counties of Ireland	24	14	2	24	64
From 33 cities and boroughs of Ireland	21	7	—	8	36

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The following are the counties in which the borough influence more particularly prevailed:—

		For Ministers.	Against Ministers.	Not at all	Total.
For Cornwall	12 boroughs	32	3	7	42
— Wilts .	16 ditto	18	8	6	32
— Sussex .	13 ditto	13	10	3	26
— Devon .	12 ditto	17	4	3	24
— Hants .	12 ditto	13	6	5	24
— Dorset .	9 ditto	9	8	1	18
— Surrey .	5 ditto	9	—	1	10
Total .	88	111	39	26	176

By the first of the above statements, it appears, that out of those members returned from places with open election, there was a majority in favour of the interests of the people of nearly two to one; but this majority was borne down by the overwhelming force of the 151 votes returned by a few individuals!

.....

But, important as was the division on the second reading of the bill, that upon general Gascoyne's motion on the 19th of April, was much more so, inasmuch as it was previously declared by ministers, that the decision of the house upon that occasion would determine the fate of the bill. The motion was carried by a majority of 8, and the consequence was a dissolution of the parliament. The following statements will enable the reader to compare the divisions on the two motions, and to form an estimate of the character of some of the members, who upon the former occasion voted for ministers, or were absent from the house, or have been since returned to parliament.

I. *Members who were absent on the second reading, but who voted for the bill and ministers on the 19th of April*

Bulwer, H. L.
Cavendish, lord G. W.
Craddock, J. H.
Legh, Thomas
Leslie, Charles P.
O'Brien, W. S.
Pechell, sir S.
Smith, George
Townsend, lord C.
Williams, John

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II. *Members absent on the second reading, but who voted against the bill and ministers on the* 19*th.*

Barne F.	Hart, general
Bradshaw, J.	Montgomery, sir C.
Cole, R. H.	Smith, sir C.
Frankland, R.	Walrond, B.

III. *Members absent on the second reading, who paired off against the ministers on the* 19*th April.*

Bradshaw, R. H.	Gurney, Hudson

IV. *Members who voted for the second reading on the* 22*d March, but against the bill and ministers on the* 19*th April.*

Acland, sir T.	Munday, Thomas
Buck, L. W.	Palmer, R.
Fane, J.	Patten, J. W.
Gladstone, John	Powlett lord W.
Handley, T. W.	Staunton, sir George
Keck, G. A. L.	Wood, colonel Thomas
Morgan, C. M. R.	Wynn, right hon. C. W.
Morgan, sir Charles	Wynn, sir Watkin

V. *Members who have been elected since the second reading, and voted for the bill and his majesty's ministers on the* 19*th April.*

Chaytor, W. R. Durham	Fergusson, sir R. Londonderry
Campbell, G. P. Nairnshire	Lushington, S. Winchelsea
O'Connell, Maurice, Clare	Ogilvie, C. Forfar
Mayhew, Colchester	

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